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# HOWARD FERGUSON

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# HOWARD FERGUSON

## The Romance of a Personality

*By*

JOHN HENDERSON

*With Illustrations by*

JACK MCLAREN

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# INTRODUCTION

MY writing the life of the Honourable George Howard Ferguson has been the most pleasant task I have ever attempted—but it has also been a somewhat difficult task.

In the first place his modesty makes him a difficult subject for the biographical writer. In the second place, he happens to be greatly in the lime-light of world-wide publicity and the many claims on his time render him impossible of approach.

He is so innately modest a man that to him the very suggestion that his biography be written is enough to make him turn aside. I really believe that in his own mind he sees no reason why he should be the subject of a biography, however small or large. He does not care for the idea, and the reason for his not caring is a certain fineness innate in him. But Canada and the British Empire differ: he is very definitely worth while as the subject of a biography . . . and it is given to me to have the privilege of writing that biography.

If it had not been for the assistance of two very old friends of his, Sir William Mulock and Canon Cody, and some others, I should have had no intimate details of Mr. Howard Ferguson's

life. He himself would not have given them to me—nor could they come from his official helpers, the employees of the Government he heads. And very properly so. This is a purely personal view of Howard Ferguson, my own view, first, and secondly, the reflected view of men and women who have had unusual opportunities of observing the man across many years. Mr. Ferguson was right in saying, and in thinking, "I will have nothing whatever to do with this biography myself". It is readily understood, therefore, that many intimate details of his youth and early life are lacking, and for the rest I have relied on those friends of Mr. Ferguson who are above the possibility of the charge of sycophancy. So I am able to give to Canada, and to Great Britain, this study of the man who goes to England at the precise moment he is most needed in Canada. Mr. Ferguson has it within his power to deal—as he would love to deal—with the most important Province in this Dominion—I refer to Ontario. He has never had, officially, the power in Ontario of a despot, or of a big chief. He has never been the tortured head of a wild political party; simply he had in his hand the power to lead and to hold, as a kindly shepherd holds his flock, three or four millions of people—the people of Ontario. These people love him so much that they would follow him as a family follows a father. They are so confident

of his honesty of purpose that they would never question his motives. They returned him to Parliament again and again; on the last occasion giving him a vast majority over those people who were, and are, politically opposed to him. To-day he simply runs and rules Ontario, as a democratic Premier—in the manner that a benign father rules his household.

And now he is going away, as I think and as many people think, at a tremendous cost to the Province of Ontario because, although the glamour of his personality and his capacity for friendliness will undoubtedly be of great service to Canada as a whole, his leadership and kindly ruling will be lost to Ontario. He is so great a man that one cannot ask him why he is doing it—one can only be sorry that he is doing it.

To meet Howard Ferguson is to meet a man. To read about him in the newspapers is to read the reports of journalists who may be right, and who may be wrong. To see his photograph in the papers is perhaps the last way to get to know him, because his is the type rarely reproduced with fidelity by a camera. His photographs make him look a rather ordinary, almost a commonplace person. Actually when you meet him face to face, he is a man of quite extraordinary personality, a man whose presense is not merely pleasant, but is—I can

describe it in no better way than by the fine old English word—bewitching.

The best testimonial Howard Ferguson ever received is the regret over his impending departure which, in these days, as I write this, exists throughout the Parliament Buildings in Queen's Park. You can go into any office, in any department, and meet clerks, representatives, secretaries, librarians—anyone, in however great or however small a capacity—and all of these persons who have had anything, much or little, to do with Mr. Ferguson will tell you they are glad that he is going to represent Canada in England—but they are all ineffably sorry that to do this means that he is leaving Ontario.

These words may seem like exaggeration. I may be misinterpreted. It may be said that I am trying to make a hero out of a man who is merely going to represent Canada as an Ambassador. But it is not exaggeration. This man, Howard Ferguson, has a personality so magnetic that he has surrounded himself, as to his official life and social life alike, with many of the best minds in all Canada. No other man has ever done this. I doubt whether even Sir John A. Macdonald succeeded to the extent of this man. Yet if you look at Mr. Ferguson's portrait in a photograph you will say, "Well, he looks just a very happy individual". When you meet him face to face, and you have talked with

him, you go out of the room in which you have met him, knowing that you have met a man.

The people of Canada know of his open-heartedness; there have been occasional stories in the press of how he has helped people. He has given money to this needy widow, or to that harassed man. He has helped little children to hospital treatment when, without him, they would have gone unaided. He has always done these things quietly and without display. Children, men, women—without a claim on him—he has helped practically, again and again, and often, far beyond his means. His heart is larger than his purse.

So this is Howard Ferguson as I see him. You will not better Shakespeare's word:

". . . . the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'

J. H.

# HOWARD FERGUSON

## CHAPTER I

### A Great Man?

IT was suggested to me that I should call this book "Fergy" or "Fergi"—the spelling is difficult. . . Had I adopted this suggestion I should have been guilty, not merely of solecism, of impertinence, but of inaccuracy. A man's character is reflected by his nick-name —thus Disraeli was "Dizzy" and Chamberlain was "Joe", but Gladstone was never "Bill" or "Glad"—he was "the Old Man" even "the Grand Old Man".

You have heard of Mr. Ferguson as "Howard Ferguson"; and in that manner he is discussed and described. It is a significant thing that Mr. Ferguson is known universally as "Howard Ferguson", just as Rhodes was described as "Cecil Rhodes", Jamieson as "Dr. Jamieson" and King Edward as "Teddy". King George is simply "The King", the Prince of Wales is "The Prince" and the Prime Minister of Ontario is "Howard Ferguson"—not "Fergy".

What type of man is this much-discussed Howard Ferguson, who deals with Ontario as an ordinary person deals with his cabbage

patch? Is he a Lincoln? A Napoleon? A Mussolini? Or a John A. Macdonald? Is he the autocratic-democratic leader, a supreme egoist or a human person? The answer is that he is a *man*—rather a great man—certainly a manly man. The word "rather" slips in, not by way of qualification, but because Howard Ferguson is so sheerly human, so large a friend of the people, of all the people, that to dub him a great man seems to put him outside the warm atmosphere of simple fellowship.

It must be a ghastly thing to live up to greatness. An individual ceases to be a man at the moment he is aware that he is a great man. He loses his liberty and his quietude. He becomes not merely the servant of the public but its slave—a miserable existence. There is no privacy for the really great. They have no hours to spare to walk at dawn amidst the freshly-opened flowers, as the gay petals drink the dew and the whole earth awakens with a sigh of gladness. A great man would be followed by a secretary, an aide-de-camp, by an army of office seekers, and the morning's glory for him would be a sordid panorama of sychophants—a crowd of well-dressed beggars.

I once lived with a great man for a day or two. He was Diaz, the President of Mexico. There at Chatultepec, that man of "blood and iron", the maker of modern Mexico, was surrounded by the trappings, the sounds and signs

of greatness. Of the natural there was little—everything seemed artificial. He was a show animal, something to be looked at, and, if possible, photographed. He had given himself to greatness, selling himself, as it were, to the torture of fame.

That is why I describe Howard Ferguson as "rather great" instead of simply "great". He has not lost his liberty. He has not lost his individuality. He remains a man first, and the Prime Minister or, now, the High Commissioner, afterwards. He is a human being much more than he is a public institution. Therefore he is not great in the sense in which the word greatness is so often used, so often abused. He is not great as Napoleon was great, or as Cromwell was great. He is merely a splendid *man*.

It is a curious thing that his personality transcends his intellectuality, although intellectually he is far greater than the average man supposes. It is not his scholarship but his personality that matters; and in his personality, so magnetic, so warm, so compelling, he has as a basis those two fine qualities—honesty and fellowship. There is not a man in Canada or in all the world who can say that Howard Ferguson has given him anything but good tricks—as we used to say at sea.

His greatest gift is the gift of perception: accurate, swift and full. He is a judge of men,

and he is a man's man, mixing with men and loving one woman—his wife. Faults—of course he must have faults. Every man, who is intellectually and politically the giant he is, must have faults; but I do not know those of Mr. Ferguson, and I cannot write about them. All I know is that in my mind his humanity, is what attracts me to him.

During the years of his Premiership he has created the great idea of the development of Northern Ontario. His is the vision. They used to give $5,000,000 a year to Northern Ontario. He increased this sum last year to $10,000,000. He knows that in Northern Ontario rests the future of the immense wealth which this Province will one day reveal. He has done his best to develop the Hydro interests of Ontario, and he has done it well. He put his friend, Mr. McGrath, at the head of the Hydro —persuaded him to take the post, much against McGrath's inclination—and the result has been that this Province of Ontario is an example to the world of how water power can be utilized.

In education, as I shall show at greater length in another chapter, Howard Ferguson has shown the world a new method of teaching. His method is to deal not merely with the properly developed, the normal child, but with other children not so well developed, mentally or physically. It was Howard Ferguson who first thought of putting a school on wheels,

on a railway line, and taking the school to the back blocks of the hinterland of Northern Ontario; thus taking to children who perhaps could not speak English, knowledge which, perhaps without knowing it, they desired so much and a schoolmaster who could tell them something about the wide, wide world outside the smaller world of their own. This was one of his achievements as the Minister of Education, not as Prime Minister.

In his Education ministry also he inaugurated other newer methods of educating the people of his Province, children and adults alike. What he has done along those lines is another proof of his ability to organize. He saw his task as Minister of Education and he saw it whole. In this work—as in all his work—he has been assisted by able lieutenants. It is a testament to Howard Ferguson's large and generous mind that these lieutenants give to him the credit for everything they have done, and it is to Howard Ferguson's credit that he refuses to accept the praise he thinks is due to his subordinates.

I met him once at a dinner given by a young man's club. The average age of these young Canadians was thirty years. They were some of the men, young to-day, but obviously of the future ruling class in the professions and commerce; very serious men, interested in themselves, and in their country, in politics and

in public affairs. I happened to sit next to Mr. Ferguson and he said to me, "I had no idea that I was coming to a meeting like this. Here we have before us the future of Canada. These men represent the future of Toronto. What am I going to talk to them about—I have no prepared speech?" I said, "Just talk to them". He stood up and said, "I am going to chat with you. I am going to tell you what I have seen in England and in Denmark". (He had just returned from a trip to those countries in which he had investigated the educational systems of the two, and compared them with our own.) He did not make a speech. He talked to them. And those two or three hundred men were delighted. It was not the Prime Minister of Ontario speaking to them—it was Howard Ferguson chatting with them. . . . That is a rare gift; the statesman would have preached: the man, Ferguson, the citizen, Ferguson mulled over the problem with his fellows. . . .

## CHAPTER II

### Personality—The Gift of Heritage

GEORGE Howard Ferguson was born at Kemptville, Ontario, in 1870. He was the son of Elizabeth Wallace (Bell) Ferguson and Charles Frederick Ferguson, M.D. His father was a typical old-time country doctor who served the people of Kemptville unswervingly, counselling and befriending all with whom he came in contact. Dr. Ferguson was always to be seen in a Prince Albert coat and a high hat. . . A familiar figure in every home was this country doctor, and like many of his kindly like, he forgot on occasions to send in his bills. Frequently his companion on these errands of mercy was his son, Howard. The boy rode with his father over the country roads, after helping him in the treatment of his patients, many of whom had to be operated on under the rudest and crudest circumstances.

Dr. Ferguson's home was a refuge for anyone down on his luck. Above the big, homely kitchen in his Kemptville home was a commodious attic. The doctor had some beds placed there, and any tramps or unfortunates who knocked at the Ferguson door found a haven where they could remain as long as they liked. A few even stayed a whole winter through, and under

the doctor's care, were benefitted in body, mind and soul. One unfortunate who came in contact with that kindly atmosphere straightened up, and to-day is a distinguished minister of the gospel.

The death of Dr. Charles Ferguson strikingly exemplifies the ideals which governed and motivated his life — he did indeed die in harness. Dr. Charles was an old man. His wife had predeceased him, and his daughter kept house for him after her mother's death. At 2 a.m. one morning, there came a pounding at the Ferguson knocker. Dr. Ferguson's daughter peered through the window, and saw a pathetic figure at the door. It was a drunken ne'er-do-well, a notorious character about the village. He told Miss Ferguson of his wife's condition—she was about to be confined—and he asked the doctor if he would go to see this poor lady.

"Why not go to the village and get one of the doctors there?" asked Dr. Charles' daughter.

"I did go to one, but as I can't pay him, he wouldn't come".

Dr. Charles, hearing the commotion, asked: "What's the matter?"

"It is someone whose wife is going to be confined", he was told by his daughter.

"All right then", roared Dr. Ferguson, "I'll come. You stay here, Josh (this to the husband) and help harness the horse".

The Doctor accompanied the man, and arriving at his house, did all that he could to relieve the sufferings of the woman. . . . but he had overspent himself for another, and he returned home tired out, and died in his sleep.

With such a progenitor, Howard Ferguson comes naturally into his kindliness, his amazing breadth of sympathy and understanding of human character—in short, into that warm personality which we all know. He emerged from childhood into boyhood with impaired eyesight. He was sent to a farm, and there, in an upbuilding and invigorating atmosphere, associated with hardy, strength-giving occupation, his health improved, and with it, his eyesight.

The history of his adolescence is the history of the normal boy. He attended the Kemptville High School, and went from there to Toronto University. He graduated in 1891, and then read law at Osgoode Hall with Chief Justice Meredith (1891-1894). He was called to the Ontario Bar in 1894, and commenced practice at Kemptville.

It was during this phase of his life that Howard Ferguson experienced an urge to enter the political arena, and to devote his talents to the service of Ontario as his Province, and Canada as his Country. He was returned to the Ontario Legislature for Grenville, in 1905, the constituency which his father had represen-

ted in the Federal House. His personality soon impressed his party and the people of the Province, and he was re-elected 1908, 1911, 1914, 1919, 1923 and 1926. Fired by enthusiasm for just causes, and by a readiness to couch a lance in defence of those who cannot defend themselves, he built the foundation of that popularity that has stayed with him throughout his career.

Chosen by his fellows, Howard Ferguson became Minister of Lands and Forests in the Hearst Government, and in that capacity made very earnest and successful efforts to develop the huge resources of Northern Ontario. The Northern Ontario we know to-day is a monument to his early jurisdiction. After sterling constructive service in this department, he became head of the Conservative Party in 1920, the party conferring upon him the highest honour in their collective gift, the leadership.

On July 16th, 1923, he was sworn in as Prime Minister of Ontario, and since he has been Premier, he has never spared himself in his efforts in promoting the interests of the Province. As Minister of Education, his accomplishment in its sum total is amazing. In the development and promotion of Northern Ontario one wonders if he has not done even more wonderful things. As a person, and as a man representing Ontario, his achievements

transcend even these. There is the secret of Howard Ferguson's popularity with the people of Ontario. Ferguson, the man, transcends Ferguson, the Premier. No Canadian figure has been more intensely human. No other Canadian Statesman has identified himself so utterly with his people.

In Howard Ferguson the people of Ontario see first the man, then the Premier, and that is the greatest compliment that can be paid to a politician—to a Statesman.

## CHAPTER III

### Ferguson the Man

IN order to outline the evolution of Ferguson the man, it is necessary to consider his boyhood. When Howard Ferguson was a boy, Sir John A. MacDonald was his ideal, as well as the ideal of all who wore the conservative blue. Sir John lived near the Fergusons, and often ran out to visit them. It was probably this association, as well as an ancestral infiuence, that planted the seeds of Conservatism in the heart of Ontario's future Premier. There also was the atmosphere of unselfish service to humanity, and scrupulous adherence to ideals which graced his home. It is easy to understand how the seeds of his genial kindness and expansive personality were born and nurtured in him.

At every turn we are faced with the human aspect of the man. His personality is as cordial as a grip of the hand. He has not grown above himself—that he can never do. He delights in fraternizing, by mixing with the people, in meeting everyone, irrespective of class, on a basis of friendliness and goodwill. Here are a few anecdotes that reveal this engaging phase of his character.

When he visits Kemptville he goes to the shoemaker, or to the post-office, or to the barber's shop, which is also the local ice cream parlour. At this place, two or three small boys are usually gathered, and Howard Ferguson will say, "Well, boys, fine day!" They twist around on their feet, and he knows what they want, and "Have some ice cream?" he asks. "Sure", the boys reply, and the youngsters line up for ice cream. Wherever he goes he is kind to the children. The Fergusons had one little child, who died, and Howard Ferguson has a very soft spot in his heart for all children—as has, also, Mrs. Ferguson. Let me give another example. At the Canadian National Exhibition he went into the "Lost Children" Building and found it to be insufferably hot. Immediately he gave instructions for a fan to be installed, and sent in ice cream cones for all the youngsters. This was not done for effect—it was simply the expression of a very real sympathy for the no doubt bewildered and distressed tots.

Howard Ferguson and Canon Cody have been friends since they were fellow-students at the University. In 1899 he and the Canon were on the executive committee together. He was Secretary, and Canon Cody was First Vice-President. Ferguson had even then a keen sense for political organization. He was a law student and eventually practised. He did not enter winter sports to any great extent—his

defective eysight rather handicapped him there.

His life in Kemptville is indicative of his life afterwards. Always intensely interested in persons, in human beings and in common things, he can see the pathos and the fun in life, and is still able to see it. He is one of the most kind-hearted of men. He might seem to be a bit gruff in his way of speaking at times, but he has a very tender heart. Only those near to him can guess how many people have benefitted by his generosity.

One day a deputation of unemployed came to the Parliament Buildings: a handful of men. He noticed one very pale looking man, tired out, and he made enquiries about him—asked him to wait awhile—found out he was out of work, his wife sick and that he could not afford to pay a doctor. They had very little food in the house, if indeed they had any. Mr. Ferguson took the precaution of sending someone to investigate, and then he sent food to them and got hold of one of his ministers and told him to go and see that the woman was looked after—an incident which is typical of the man.

He said one night, "You know it is awfully hard to pass any kind of beneficent legislation. New laws of any description necessarily create new problems. One of the best things we have is the Workmen's Compensation Act". When he was living at the Alexandra Apartments, he went, one Saturday afternoon, to the Parliament

Buildings to work, thinking he would have a quiet and clear afternoon. He worked there until 6 p.m. (he is a tremendous worker and organizer). Speaking later of this certain afternoon he said, "When I came out I met a man wandering around the front of the buildings, and he asked me how he could get in. I told him the buildings were closed until Tuesday—the following Monday being a holiday. The man did not know who I was. I asked him what he wanted, and he said he wanted to see Mr. Henry, the Minister of Highways, as he wanted a job. He had been working on the highways, but at that time he had no money, his wife was sick, and he wanted to get a job of some kind in the department. I told him he could not see anybody in the department until Tuesday morning. All this time we were walking down the street, and when we got to the Alexandra Apartments, I noticed they were building the new Pavilion at the General Hospital, so I said, "Why don't you try over there to get work?" The man was wearing a cloth cap, and taking it off, disclosed the fact that his hair was white, and he said: "They don't want white-haired men working for them. On account of the Workmen's Compensation Act they want younger men whose liability of accidents is less". . . . Mr. Ferguson thought a moment and then, "You go on Tuesday morning to Mr. Henry and tell him to give you

a job." The man said, "Who shall I say sent me to ask for it?" With a smile Mr. Ferguson said, "Say the Premier sent you." The man gasped and said, "Are you the Premier?" He got his job. So one could go on with instance after instance of this warm-hearted quality. If anyone is ill, he sends flowers—to his political foes as well as to his political friends. His heart is big. His mind is extraordinarily creative and fertile in devising plans to benefit his fellows. One of the most difficult problems of the Department of Education has been to meet the need of the children scattered throughout the far northern country. Mr. Ferguson devised the brilliant idea, entirely his own, of bringing the school to the children by a system of school cars. The two principles upon which the Department of Education proceeded, were first to bring educational opportunity to all the children in the Province, and secondly to bring that opportunity as close to the children's homes as possible. His splendid idea of school cars makes the first principle effective. Sometimes the children come for miles and camp for two weeks at a time beside the car. Then they go home and report to their parents, who at once become interested. The development of auxiliary classes for underprivileged children and for the sub-normal, has always had his sympathy. He also takes a keen interest in the correspondence class idea.

He is a great humanitarian. It is the human side of his work in this Province which always has made the greatest appeal to him.

At the hospital for sub-normal children at Orillia he got the ablest medical man in psychiatry from London—Dr. McGee—and put him in charge of the institution. This institution has since rendered an invaluable service to humanity. It has converted apparently hopeless imbeciles into useful citizens.

It was from humanitarian motives, more than any others, that Ferguson was led to grapple with the liquor problem for the Province. His doing so was not mere political advertising. Here was a great moral problem presented to the people of Ontario. He wanted to handle it. He said, "I believe if I could only get a chance to do it, I could make a real job of handling this situation". It is common knowledge how he got the chance and staking his political existence on the result, he went at it—with the result that not only has the revenue to the Province been increased by many millions of dollars, but, what is even more important, Ontario is an example to the world in the matter of soberness of its citizens.

The man has an amazing power of getting at the heart of a situation and an almost uncanny sense of what is, politically, the wise move to make. He can put himself in the place of the average citizen; in that respect he

far outdistances many of our public men. He has a positive genius for sensing a political situation. While he is a strong party man, and in a campaign hits hard, he is never unkindly—he always has a joke or a funny story, and is on the best of terms with his political antagonist.

During Mr. Meighen's campaigning as the head of the Federal Conservative Party, a dinner was given in a Toronto hotel. James Spence, President of the Liberal-Conservative Association, came to this dinner. Mr. Ferguson turned to him and said, "Jim, you should not be at a dinner on this solemn occasion—you should be sitting in sackcloth and ashes".

It is difficult to fight Ferguson—and mean it! He's a bonny scrapper and he has a big heart and a clear head. He combines the ability to see a thing as a whole because he recognizes the principles involved, with the power to organize the details. Neglect of detail may wreck the wisest policy under the sun.

With Howard Ferguson criticism is *ultimate* criticism. He is eminently a constructive statesman. . . He is not a great reader of books: he reads men instead!

Once he was down at the annual meeting of the Technical Service Council, created for the purpose of keeping technically trained men for Canadian industries. It was a remarkable gathering of the leaders of industry, and general business interests in this part of the

country. He gave some of his observations that night. "I am saying to you, my friends, that it is those factors that move me to go over there." (He was referring to his move to London.) "I shall do my best to preserve the existing cordial relations which exist between Canada and the Empire. I have the will to try".

## CHAPTER IV

### Ontario's Debt to Premier Ferguson

### (a) Education

THE present status of Ontario—its recognition as the leading Province in the development of natural resources, the encouragement of agriculture and industry and the social and educational advancement of its people—owes much to its present Premier.

Let us take education first. This is a project very close to Howard Ferguson's heart. When the Ferguson ministry was formed in July, 1923, the Premier assumed, without additional salary or compensation, the office of Minister of Education. In doing so he placed on record his belief in the fundamental structure on which the security of a country rests. Canada is destined to be among the great nations of the earth. Her heritage of natural resources is the key which will unlock the future for her. But more important still is the education of her youth. As one generation succeeds another, it becomes heir to the ideals which governed its predecessor. It is in the hands of the new generation to perpetuate those ideals or to frustrate them. It is here that the education of the young becomes a vital matter. Taught the value of citizenship—with their

outlook broadened by liberal education—the youth of succeeding generations will appreciate the fundamental soundness of such ideals as have been passed on to them. They may refuse much. But they will absorb much that is worth while—the keenness of their discrimination depending entirely on the standard of education they have received.

It is here that Howard Ferguson has proved to the hilt his concern for the people, and his statesmanlike vision. Under its Premier the Government has, for the past six years, followed a progressive policy in education. No effort has been spared in dealing with this vital phase of national life in a broad and sympathetic spirit. Led by a man who has passed through the succeeding stages of public, high school and university, and throughout his career has been actively identified with school interests, the Government has inaugurated and carried to fulfilment many innovations and improvements, the influence of which has been felt in every grade of education.

Howard Ferguson, from the first, has been the inspiring genius of the movement. His enthusiasm for the cause of education has burned lambently and continuously, firing his associates to a keenness comparable to his own. He has never sought to take the schools from under the control of the boards and the ratepayers who elect those boards. But he has, in an advisory capacity, been responsible for the

advancement which has placed Ontario in such a high ranking position in the realm of educational work.

Perhaps at this point we may compare Ontario's very proud position in respect of its educational system to-day with what it was some years ago. It is not to be doubted that we have in this Province an educational system at once thorough, intelligent and enlightened. Men of differing characters and differing mentalities in their time and in their own way have contributed to the establishment of the system of education as we know it to-day. Pressed into the service from time to time have been men who were lawyers, business men, ecclesiastics, pedagogues, with, of course, a substantial percentage of the latter. These men have dreamed their dreams and seen their visions. The gleam ever in front of them and ever following the gleam, these men and women who have had in their care the bringing up of our children have done a great job—there is no other way to put it.

What precisely is our educational system in this Province to-day? Education, of course, is compulsory, on the one hand, and yet on the other it is free. One may amplify. The citizens of the Province pay for the education of their children by the method of systematic taxation. All pay, men and women who are childless with those who are more blessed. Attend-

ance at a primary school is compulsory. Beyond that the youngster may go on to the High School or the Collegiate Institute for four or five years, and beyond the slight charge which must be paid for necessary textbooks the cost to the parent is nothing.

Surely, nowhere in the world is the equipment in institutions of learning at once more up-to-date and more complete than is to be found in our Ontario Schools and Collegiate Institutes. As Minister of Education Howard Ferguson has always felt that money could not be spent to better advantage than on the boys and girls of to-day who are the adult citizens of to-morrow. So monies expended in equipment take in such sides of school life as are indicated by a gymnasium on the one hand, a complete kitchen where dietetics is taught on the other. Teachers are provided who are not merely good: who not merely "get by", but are the best that can be found. There is no dearth of teachers: on the contrary rather is there a plenitude. One cannot help but admire Howard Ferguson in his capacity as Minister of Education, because he early saw the wisdom of small classes over-staffed rather than under-staffed. What a wise side on which to err! It must be obvious that the character and intelligence of each youngster can so much better be formed and developed if the class is but small and the teacher has therefore not too many minds to nurture. And

equally wise, surely, has the Minister been in appreciating that no one pedagogue, excellent as he or she might be, has in his or her mind the wisdom of all the ages in all subjects. Therefore, in our senior schools the teaching specialist has been for some years the order of the day, and as new lesson succeeds to new lesson so new instructor succeeds to new instructor. We have amongst the men and women who are teachers in this Province many, many hundreds, not to say thousands, of minds, each of them expert in this or that subject, or group of subjects. Just as the practice of medicine as a general and embracing practice is rapidly giving way to the feeling that one specialist must treat this patient for that disease, and another specialist for still another ailment, so Howard Ferguson was wise enough to see the necessity of the specialist in pedagogy.

It takes the mind of a Howard Ferguson at once shrewd and politically sagacious to keep steadily in front of him as Minister of Education the fact that one-quarter of the population of the Province of Ontario is the boy and girl population—we take in, of course, boys and girls all the way through from kindergarten to university grading. And so the Minister of Education does not feel it is untoward to spend $27,000,000 a year in teachers' salaries to take care of this important boy and girl constituent part of the total population of the Province.

A pet project of Howard Ferguson's, if we may use the word, is the Boys' Welfare Home and School known commonly throughout the Province of Ontario as the Boys' Training School, Bowmanville.

The problem of assisting the lad commonly known as the underprivileged boy has long been recognized by the teaching profession, the Juvenile Court, the Social Service Worker and numerous other agencies. Often a father or mother passes away. The care of the home containing two or three children devolves upon an elder sister. Parental control is largely absent. The elder boy of the family begins to play truant. Truancy leads to mischief, perhaps to petty crime and the lad comes to the attention of the Juvenile Court. Again, with both father and mother living, the young lad gets out of control of the teachers and of the parents. Perhaps the Social Service worker is called in. It becomes evident that readjustment is necessary. Again, perhaps coupled with lack of parental control there is poverty and wilful neglect in the home.

Recognizing the need of an agency to assist with cases of the type mentioned above as fair examples, the Government, under the leadership of Howard Ferguson, undertook the foundation of the Bowmanville School.

A public-spirited citizen of Bowmanville, Mr. J. H. H. Jury, donated a splendid farm of 150

acres slightly north and east of Bowmanville. The Government purchased the adjoining 150 acres. The site is a splendid one consisting of gently rolling, rich agricultural land and embodying all the traditional features of the story book farm including even the winding spring creek and the old swimmin' hole.

The original farm buildings of splendid construction still stand. A large farm house serves as staff quarters. Another was made into two apartments for married families. The barns have been improved and enlarged.

In the spring of 1924 construction work commenced in earnest. The cottage plan of construction was decided upon. Two cottages known as Kiwanis Lodge and Jury Lodge were erected. Each houses 36 boys and also contains quarters for the House Father and Mother, of whom more later. A central kitchen and dining room were erected, embodying all the most modern features for the preparation and serving of food. Still later a school building was added, this including a recreation hall. A large Manual Arts Building, or if one prefers the term, a Manual Training School was added. Demand for admissions continued and a cottage containing room for 108 lads was added, in effect three separate cottages under one roof. A central heating plant was built and connected to all units by tunnels. Finally a splendid Gymnasium was built including a modern white tiled swimming pool.

The Kiwanis Lodge was built largely through the generosity of the Kiwanis Clubs of the Province. The Gymnasium was built largely by donations from the Rotary Clubs of the Province. Mention has already been made of the donation of one-half of the site by Mr. J. H. Jury.

The need of a summer camp was felt and a site was generously donated by Mr. H. C. Scholfield, M.P.P., of Toronto. On this site, located about two miles from the school on the shores of Lake Ontario, the Government erected a large frame kitchen and dining hall. For the first summer the boys lived at the camp in tents. Since then six wooden huts have been erected, two by service clubs, four by the Government. The rapid progress in the building programme has been greatly assisted by the generosity of the Service Clubs, and by the whole-hearted enthusiasm of scores of private citizens.

Boys are not committed to the school by court procedure. The school is not a place of punishment but a shelter, a home, a place of work, of play, of education, of adjustment. Up to date, no great difficulty has been experienced in arranging with parents and guardians to have deserving cases placed in the hands of the school officials. In the main boys between the ages of nine and fourteen come to the school in the greatest numbers, but in the occasional case a boy younger or older is admitted.

The boys are carefully observed on admission and placed in their proper classes. The cottage system admits of ready classification. Each cottage is in charge of a married couple known as "Cottage Father and Mother" who are in full charge of Cottage activities. The boys sleep in open dormitories with the exception of Head Boys who occupy semi-private rooms and act in some degree as Supervisors, positions not only earned but held, by merit alone.

The lads attend the school in charge of a head master with several assistants. The routine is similar to that in the ordinary Public and Continuation School. A portion of the day is devoted to manual training or perhaps more properly vocational training, as for instance wood-working, motor mechanics, boiler operation, drafting room practice or in some other occupation for which the boy seems to have ability. Most boys take kindly to general farming, others to the dairying branch, some to poultry raising, some to gardening and horticulture. Organized play is not forgotten. A very competent physical director is provided, and no branch of clean, healthy sport is neglected. A cadet corps, one of the finest in the Province, is maintained. The boys have given physical training exhibitions in many parts of the Province.

The management of the school was, until September, 1930, under the direction of the Pro-

vincial Secretary being then transferred to the newly-organized Department of Social Welfare. The Minister is assisted by the Advisory Board provided for in the Act and consisting of nine members representing the Service Clubs and other organizations and forming a body of very representative and outstanding citizens. The Chairman is Mr. H. C. Scholfield, M.P.P.

Needless to say, the advice of the Board has been valuable indeed. Their thought and energy has been most helpful in enlisting public support. One of the features of the school is an arboretum which, when complete, will form one of the most unique collections of plant life in Canada. Of four hundred and twenty-five boys admitted to the school, two hundred and twenty-five have graduated; that is to say, they have passed out of the school with the approval of the officials and with every prospect of making good. A few have eloped and a few have failed to respond to discipline and care. Of the graduates 92 per cent. have made good; 20 per cent. have found their way into agriculture; 40 per cent. have returned to their homes; and for the remaining 40 per cent. positions have been found. A careful follow up is exercised in each case. The latest development is the establishment of a Boarding Home in Toronto. During the re-establishment period a number of boys will be furnished with board, lodging and home care at a nominal rate.

The merit system is an important feature of school life. The boy is credited with a nominal sum for whatever work he does. When he needs, say, a pair of skates, a sweater, or some other article of boyish luxury, his account is charged with the cost. He secures luxuries only as he earns them.

The Superintendent of the School is Dr. G. E. Reaman, M.A., Ph.D. There is a staff of thirty-eight, including a skilled Farm Director, a herdsman, Motor Mechanics Instructor, Instructor in Woodworking, etc. The success of the school is such that the Government is considering the founding of a similar institution for girls.

Since the entry of Howard Ferguson into the educational field, text-books have been vitalized. No longer is Canadian and British history a dry commentary. It is an absorbing relation in which biographical details and vivid accounts of the social life of people merge into a fascinating panorama of humanity in evolution.

An additional benefit has been given pupils by the creation of a special revising board to investigate—and if necessary revise—the results of Provincial examinations for entrance to the universities and professions. Under this improvement only the general school record of a pupil is considered and the slight mistakes in examinations—often due merely to nervousness—are disregarded. The Special Revising

Board represents both schools and universities and forms a court of equity in education. It carefully reviews the pupil's record, considers all available information bearing on the case and hands down an unbiassed opinion as to the pupil's qualifications for passing on to the next grade.

Howard Ferguson has also been responsible for the more intensive training of teachers. He instituted a two-years' course of training for teachers at the Normal School in which the young teacher is enabled to discover the grade of work for which he is best suited, and learns from actual experience the problems which confront the teacher. He also has an opportunity, by attending summer classes and by means of an established correspondence course, of improving his academic standing so that he may raise his status from second to first class grade.

These efforts of Mr. Ferguson are now bearing fruit in the more efficient staffing of rural schools. Eventually all schools will be under the control of highly trained and capable teachers of normal grade whose influence on their charges and upon elementary education in general will be permanent and far-reaching in results.

Perhaps the most striking contribution of the Premier to the cause of education is the provision of school cars for children whose parents reside at points along Canada's two great rail-

way lines which run to the West through Northern Ontario. The willing co-operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian National Railway was enlisted in this humane movement. Cars were equipped for instruction of pupils, part of the car being designed for the schoolroom, another part used as living quarters for the teacher. The cars are left for definite periods at central points, thus enabling as great a concentration of pupils as possible. After the period has elapsed, the car is moved on to other points. The continuity of instruction is achieved by providing the children with work to do at home during the absence of the car at other points. Only certificated teachers are used in this work.

The value of these school cars to the children of rural Ontario cannot be overestimated. When it is considered that many of the families are non-English speaking, the constructive element of the whole movement is apparent. But for these school cars, Ontario's rural children would be deprived of the only key by which they can open the door to worthy citizenship and to a status in which they can claim equality of opportunity with native-born Canadians.

Four or five of these school cars are now in operation in Ontario. In addition to the beneficial work being accomplished among the children by these cars, educational facilities are

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extended to include their older brothers and sisters and even the parents. Night classes are organized at many central points which give instruction to adults in English and other studies. With these two salient approaches to the problem an imperative need has been met successfully. In other ways this educational movement has benefited the Province by stabilizing employment for the railways, establishing and developing permanent settlements and by "Canadianizing" those inhabitants of Ontario whose parents have arrived comparatively recently in Canada.

Another Ferguson achievement is seen in the Ontario system of industrial and vocational schools. This system provides practical training combined with thorough instruction in academic subjects. Under the guidance of the Premier, the Department of Education made surveys of local conditions at various points to determine the educational policy which would best fulfill the business and industrial requirements of cities, towns and villages throughout the Province. The co-operation of local school boards and committees was sought and obtained, and with their active assistance a policy was decided upon that would be flexible enough to meet all conditions.

That the policy has been completely successful is borne out by the remarkable development in vocational training which has taken place in

the past years. Various types of vocational schools have been established and industrial, technical and commercial schools, operating under the Vocational Education Act exist in all the cities of Ontario and in some of the large towns. Mining schools, for instance, are now established at Sudbury, Haileybury and Timmins. Agricultural vocational schools operate at Renfrew, Ridgetown, Beamsville and St. Thomas.

These vocational schools prepare those of school age for a future occupation in life. For adults evening classes have been organized which enable them to perfect their knowledge of practical work in crafts and industries, thus furthering their own prosperity, and, incidentally, that of their town or community.

The remarkable growth of these schools in the past few years is a direct result of the untiring efforts of Howard Ferguson. By counsel and by example he has worked unflaggingly to promote and develop these vocational schools. Further, under his leadership two important educational developments took place. First was the Apprenticeship Act of 1928, providing a scheme of training apprentices in the technical schools of the Province. The second development was the placement of pupils trained in the technical schools. Under the Apprenticeship Act a Provincial Committee, consisting of employers, representatives of labour organizations

and a member of the Department of Education, provides educational facilities for young Canadians engaged in the building trade. But Howard Ferguson did not cease his efforts with this first step in the advancement of young Canadians. Provision was made in the Regulations and vocational guidance and co-ordinating officers were appointed to function at various points throughout the Province. As a climax to the whole movement Howard Ferguson established the Ontario Training College for Technical Teachers, at Hamilton, an institute which has contributed vitally to the high standard of instruction in the vocational schools.

The complete system of vocational schools cares for the youth of Canada in a very human and constructive way. Every effort has been made to adapt this system to the needs of the people. Financial assistance has been afforded unstintingly by the Government under Mr. Ferguson's leadership. The result has justified the efforts expended. Ontario's vocational schools are a monument to the untiring zeal and unselfish devotion of its Premier.

And so Howard Ferguson again in this project has shown the results of that combination of sound judgment and warm humanity which are the distinguishing marks of the statesman.

### (B) Health and Social Welfare

Howard Ferguson has the fortunate gift of attracting men of high attainments and of

"grappling them with hoops of steel" to the cause he has so much at heart—the welfare of Ontario and its people. His Government, inspired by his leadership, has in its Department of Health one of the most constructive and progressive Health Departments in the world.

The Ontario Department of Health embraces every social and industrial phase of the Province. The dissemination of pamphlets and the thousands of dollars expended in grants and municipalities are merely a part of this work—though a vital part. The Department distributes free biological products on a larger and more liberal scale than does any other similar Department on the North American Continent. There are about thirteen different classes of these biological products. The product of insulin, alone, is supplied monthly, without charge, to between 800 and 900 residents of Ontario who are financially unable to purchase it themselves. Thus these people are enabled to carry on at their usual work and support themselves and their families instead of becoming a charge on their respective communities.

The battle against the ravages of the dread tuberculosis, which is waged by every humane Government, is being carried on in Ontario with a gratifying measure of success. The death rate is steadily decreasing and tuberculosis is no longer so great a scourge as it was a few years ago. The Ontario Government has been quick

to realize the importance of early diagnosis in the arresting of this disease, and a travelling diagnostic chest clinic, staffed by two physicians and a nurse, and equipped with portable X-ray apparatus, travels to and fro throughout the Province, visiting and examining thousands of cases in widely separate centres. Similar constructive work is being undertaken in dental service, public health education, industrial hygiene and sanitary engineering.

The welfare of the worker has always been a vital consideration with the Government of Ontario. Under the leadership of the Minister, and with the sympathetic and whole-hearted support of Howard Ferguson, measures have been taken to meet and solve the multitudinous problems arising from the rapidly changing nature and expansion of our industrial life. Government employment offices operate throughout the Province, which bring together, without charge to either, the man seeking work and the man who has work to give. Arrangements have even been made for reduced transportation rates to workers travelling to positions secured for them by the employment offices. The passing of the Factory Act was one of the finest types of social legislation ever enacted, solving as it did the problems of child labour, prolonged working hours, protection from machinery, fire protection and many other causes and conditions which menace the health and safety of the

worker. Furthering this care for the worker the Ontario Government established the Industrial Safety Division which renders a high degree of public service in still further minimizing the hazards and dangers to which certain types of workers are exposed.

The decision of Howard Ferguson and his associates to adopt the old age pension scheme was a momentous one and represented another significant advance in social legislation. It revealed a Government which thoroughly understood the relation of individual to state, and state to individual. More, it revealed a Government willing to assume responsibility and care for those citizens who, through no fault of their own, had been unable to accumulate a fund to tide them over the evening of life. The Old Age Pension Act was a statesman-like gesture—a gesture which revealed behind the facade of officialdom, the warm humanity of Ontario's Premier.

The Liquor Control Act of Ontario is regarded by some with mixed feelings, yet the ending of prohibition in Ontario disclosed that downright courage of Mr. Ferguson which has so distinguished his career. He sensed the growing dissatisfaction of the people with conditions under prohibition. He gave them what he honestly believed was the remedy for these conditions. The sequel to his legislation has been a decided improvement in the respect of

the people for law and order. During the prohibition regime the disregard for the temperance legislation was slowly and surely undermining this respect and adversely influencing observance of other laws. To-day throughout the Province a steady improvement is under way.

A significant trend is shown by comparing the cost of administering other laws in the Province under the O. T. A. with the cost of such administration under the Liquor Control Act. In 1925, under the O. T. A., this cost was in the neighbourhood of $355,000. The first year of the Liquor Control Act reduced the cost of other law enforcements to about $287,000. The sincerity of Howard Ferguson in sponsoring this legislation cannot possibly be doubted. If any evidence were needed it can be found in the vigorous enforcement of the Liquor Control Act and in the swift punishment meted out to offenders who infringe it.

The men of Canada who took part in the great adventure have not been forgotten by the Government headed by Howard Ferguson. The Soldiers' Aid Commission renders immeasurable help and service to various forms of returned men and their dependents. The Commission has been responsible for the training and education of a great many returned soldiers who took courses with success in agriculture, industry and commerce. The great ma-

jority of these men are now in possession of businesses of their own, or are following the vocation for which they were trained.

### (c) Mining

It is surely not supererogation for me to devote some space to a discussion of the very real contribution indeed which Howard Ferguson has made to his native Province by his constant interest in the matter of our mineral wealth. This has always been a matter of deep concern and equally deep interest to the Premier, since his first portfolio was that of Lands, Forests and Mines. Those who remember him during this ministry will pay him a tribute for his extraordinary competency as administrator of the portfolio he held. I take it that the present Minister, the Hon. Charles McCrea, would be the first to pay his respects to Howard Ferguson for that he "well and truly laid" the foundation of the great mineral wealth Ontario has to-day and the greater mineral wealth Ontario will have to-morrow.

It is not uninteresting to discover, to those who are unaware of it, the policy of the Ferguson Government, as to the mining wealth of this Province. The Government of the Province of Ontario levies taxes only on mining profits. On annual nett profits over $10,000, and up to $1,000,000, a 3 per cent. tax is collected; over $1,000,000, and up to $5,000,000, the tax moves up to 5 per cent., while on profits over

$5,000,000, the tax is 6 per cent. About half of this money is returned by the Government to organized municipalities for municipal government purposes. It is not the policy of the Ontario Government to impose unduly heavy fees by way of taxation, on such a young and promising and invaluable industry as that of mining. It is, of course, the fact that miners and mining companies generally, and syndicates and corporations behind them, pay their dividends: and hundreds, not to say, perhaps thousands, have become rich and vastly so, by tapping the mineral wealth of the Province, but it has been the policy of the Government to refrain from the levying of dues of so heavy a kind that the industry would be hampered. There is an understanding and a sympathy on the part of Government—and here the *sympatico* quality of Howard Ferguson comes in for the many difficulties, yes, even for the griefs and sorrows of the mining prospector. Those of us who think in cant fashion see only a sort of mental picture of the joy and surprise when a prospector makes a strike. But Howard Ferguson and those allied with him in the administration of mining in Ontario know the suffering and agitation which so frequently attend work in the mines; they know above all, the hazards and the dangers. And here again that warm sympathy which I have always seen as a prime attribute of Howard Ferguson has ever come into play.

It has been the policy of the Government to rest content in the fact that the Province's mineral wealth is discovered and hammered out of the ground as a result of private enterprise and endeavour. The Government as a government has never seen fit to enter the mining field, so that the people of the Province through their elected representatives, do not themselves take any working or active part in the development of the mineral wealth of the Province. Rather, mining is left to those who work it professionally from the miner to the financier behind him, while Howard Ferguson and his ministers have felt that their work was to facilitate in every way the conduct of those professionally expert. The building of new roads, the clearing away of natural obstacles, the construction if need be of a new railway, to ensure the get-at-ability—to use an ugly word—of the mines, and the securing of results for those who work them—these, as Howard Ferguson has seen them, are the functions of government.

So important is this whole matter of Ontario's mineral wealth to her citizens and indeed to the citizens of Canada and the Empire at large, that I think it well to reproduce a statement by the Government of Ontario in regard to our mining lands. It is by way of being a government advertisement, and I have simply brought the figures up to date.

"An attractive field is offered to the investor and prospector in Northern Ontario. Seventy per cent. of the rock outcrop of the entire Northland is Pre-Cambrian, in which occur the gold of Porcupine and Kirkland Lake, the silver of Cobalt, South Lorrain and Gowganda, the nickel of Sudbury, copper on the North shore of Lake Huron, and iron in Michipicoten and other areas.

"There are still vast areas unprospected where these formations in all probability contain a wealth of gold, silver and other metals as great as any yet discovered. No other country offers more attractive inducements to the prospector and mining investor.

"Ontario is now one of the leading sources of gold. In 1929 the production was valued at $33,543,913, or about 76 per cent. of the total output of the United States. The Porcupine and Kirkland Lake Mines are turning out bullion in excess of $91,600 per day and to the end of last year paid $93,885,216 in dividends.

"From the mines of Sudbury comes 90 per cent. of the world's requirements of nickel. The output last year including nickel, copper, platinum metals and nickel oxide was valued at $42,779,501. Copper and metals of the platinum group in important amounts are associated with nickel in the Sudbury ores. Dividends to the end of the year 1929 total $120,465,794.

"The silver mines of Cobalt, South Lorrain and Gowganda produced over $4,000,000 in silver last year. Dividends to the end of 1929 totalled $97,101,281.

"The value of the non-metallics, construction materials and clay products produced in 1929 was $33,228,758.

"The development of Ontario's mineral wealth is encouraged by the Provincial Government in many ways. A staff of trained geologists is maintained, and reports and maps on new areas, as well as the re-mapping of old, form part of the Department's programmes in aid of both the prospector and miner. Assistance is rendered by cutting trails, clearing streams, and building roads, and where a district proves to be of sufficient value to warrant the expenditure it is provided with railway communication. The Temiskaming Testing Laboratory, at Cobalt, is equipped to sample and assay ores and parcels of gold ore from prospects under development are purchased, thus enabling the owners to continue at work."

It is not too much to say that when Howard Ferguson's work for his Province is surveyed from the time he came into the Legislature to the time he accepted the Canadian High Commissionership in England, no part of that work will be regarded as more important, and certainly no part as more resultful, than his ad-

ministration formerly, and latterly his sympathetic interest as Prime Minister, in Ontario's mineral wealth in its securing and in its realizing.

### (D) Development

His development policy in Northern Ontario has brought about a closer and more effective co-operation between the Government and the pioneer settler. It has led to the opening of more and more new lands for settlement. It has encouraged more intensive cultivation and more economic production. That is one phase of his work in Northern Ontario. Another phase is his throwing open the vast potentialities of Northern Ontario to every line of industry—extending every assistance to legitimate enterprises, encouraging, stimulating, advancing every line of endeavour, sponsored by adequate capital, to the ultimate benefit of the enterprise itself and of his beloved Ontario.

Howard Ferguson has the vision which encompasses the future as well as the present. His policy has gained the confidence of all industry. He has sacrificed not one iota of the privileges of the Province. The water power of the northern part of our Province will always remain the inalienable property of the Crown and will always be there, ready to be developed for the benefit of industry and the Province. Labour again benefits from this development of North-

ern Ontario—always the welfare of the workmen is near Howard Ferguson's heart. Agreements with paper companies have tremendously increased the capital investment and total production of newsprint, thus creating increased opportunities for labour. New industries are one of the most effective remedies for unemployment. Assured by the basic soundness of Ferguson's development policy—attracted by the wealth of natural resources latent in Northern Ontario—more and more industries are being established within the borderlands of Canada, forwarding the destiny of the Dominion—employing the energies of Canadians, and laying the foundation of a prosperity the extent and scope of which can only be guessed at by the present generation.

Millions of dollars have been poured into the development policy initiated by the Government of Howard Ferguson—millions of dollars that will be returned a hundredfold in the enlargement, expansion and development of our natural resources and industrial potentialities. Roads have been provided for settlers. Highways have been widened and improved. Municipalities have been encouraged and financially assisted. Everything possible has been done to afford co-operation to the authentic settler and to industrial enterprises whose motives are beyond suspicion.

The pioneer settler is the foundation stone of development. He is the wedge of civilization—the spearhead of progress. To him the state, county or province owes an incalculable debt. That debt is fully recognized by the Ontario Government under Howard Ferguson. In 1924 the Ferguson Government appointed a supervisor of Settlement Service, and this supervisor has been entirely at the disposal of the home maker in the Northland. The Ferguson Government, through the medium of this supervisor, has succeeded in impressing the settler with the fact that in the Government he has a friend willing and capable to help him in his settlement plans. The appointment of the supervisor has done much to lessen petty disputes and has solved many of the problems that have in the past beset the settler.

The supervisor of Settlement reports upon and recommends areas suitable for agricultural purposes. Already important colonies have been established in the Cochrane district, in the Thunder Bay district and elsewhere, the requirements of these settlers having been previously studied and provided for. All the districts in Northern and Northwestern Ontario are regularly visited by the supervisor, whose intimate association with and knowledge of men and conditions in the area have done much to establish friendly and mutually beneficial relations between the settler and the Government.

Howard Ferguson has always believed in the encouragement of intensive cultivation and more economic production. With this aim in view the Ferguson Government established one-quarter lots, or 80 acres, as the farm unit. By this means there is less uncleared land and untilled land than there has been formerly, and the result has been a greater yield per acre and incidentally a greater degree of community life.

The one thing the Ferguson Government has sought to prevent is the exploitation of the area by so-called settlers who take the land, presumably to farm it, but who really exploit the timber wealth. Constructive work has been done here in eliminating these impostors, and the policy of withholding clearances until credentials are assured has cleared the ground of exploiters to a very great extent.

Howard Ferguson, on assuming office, enunciated a very definite policy, which was that timber areas should be for the needs of existing industries and to provide accessible means of assistance in the labour situation. Exceptions, of course, were made in the case of new industries and opportunities for development were furnished to these industries.

The development and protection of home industries have been the basis of all policies inaugurated by the Ferguson Government. Almost everyone recognizes that the paper trade of Canada is a strong influence in the mainten-

ance of international trade balances. To safeguard this industry, and to encourage the confidence of manufacturers, the Ferguson Government maintained that manufacture into the completely finished product of paper must be completed in Ontario. Heretofore, partial manufacture into pulp and paper was the basis of contract. The benefits accruing to labour particularly, and our home industries generally, through this innovation by Howard Ferguson's Government, are obvious.

Another instance of the constructive service of the Government under Howard Ferguson has been the perpetuation of pulp forests. Millwood requirements and allotted pulpwood cordage have been insisted upon rather than acreage, and the areas, type and size of material annually designated so that the crop will be rotated, the young and immature wood protected and the paper business made permanent in Canada.

Ontario has won recognition throughout the world for its inexhaustible supply of electrical power and the use which this Province has made of it. Ontario power is generated and distributed, at cost, to the people of the Province. It is probably the only state, province or country where electrical power services are distributed so extensively and so cheaply.

Electric power is the motive power of industry. The harnessing of this giant has for-

warded civilization by decades. It has opened up new avenues of utility for capital and labour. It has brought new standards of living, new concepts of comfort to peoples throughout the world. Small wonder, then, that it has come to be, through the largesse of nature, the basis of the welfare and progress of Ontario.

On the shoulders of Howard Ferguson has fallen the mantle of Sir Adam Beck. The immense hydro-electric undertaking, founded by Sir Adam Beck, has, under Ferguson's leadership, assumed dimensions that were literally only guessed at in the previous era, and serves a wider field than has ever been anticipated by the most optimistic. Once again the Midas-touch of Ferguson has made itself felt in the transmuting of this basic endeavour of our provincial life into still wider and richer spheres of usefulness. When the Ferguson Government was called to office, Ontario was faced with the prospect of a dangerous power shortage—a shortage which threatened to paralyze industry if it were not averted. Experts predicted that existing facilities would fall short of requirements in 1927 by 120,000 h.p.

Hedged around by difficulties, beset by federal and international complications, the Ferguson Government determined to protect the power requirements of the Province by acquiring new sources of this vital commodity. Then followed the securing by treaty of the right to

develop additional power at Niagara Falls; the purchasing of blocks of power from developments in private hands; the increasing of existing hydro generation in various parts of the Province; the development of the water powers of Northern Ontario; and the purchasing of undeveloped, or partially developed, power sites.

The result of these negotiations was a substantial advancement in the development of Ontario's power resources, and an assurance of the stability and efficiency of our power resources for years to come.

The association of Howard Ferguson with Sir Adam Beck led to many improvements in the hydro-electric field. Perhaps the most striking was the manner in which Howard Ferguson unified and centralized hydro operations in Eastern Ontario. Eastern Ontario was for a time behind the other portions of the Province in the price and efficiency of its electrical service. Before the coming of hydro to the West, private enterprises had the monopoly of power in the Eastern Ontario field and charged rates considerably in excess of the actual cost.

Howard Ferguson was in the Hearst Government at that time, and in conjunction with Sir Adam Beck brought about the purchase by Ontario of the private power system of the East. Since then the Central Ontario system has been managed by the Hydro, and Eastern Ontario is continuing to share in the advantages brought by hydro to other parts of the Province.

To the farmer of Ontario the Ferguson Government has brought considerable benefit through the development of the power system. In 1921 legislation was passed granting a bonus of 50 per cent. of the cost of Rural Transmission lines but the farmers never experienced this inestimable gift until Howard Ferguson and his Government took command of the situation. The first payment of the bonuses was made by the Ferguson Government in 1923, when they paid a total of some $425,000. Previous to 1923 not a dollar had been disbursed by Ontario to bonus Rural Transmission lines. Now the farmers have their bonus, and the far-seeing business methods of the Ferguson Government have brought rural electrical service to a pitch of efficiency and economy that plays an impressive part in the ensemble of Ferguson achievements.

Dominant among the developments and movements instituted under the Ferguson regime must be placed the extension of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway undertaken last spring, which will continue through Moose River Basin to tidewater on James Bay.

These miles of steel pushing their shining way through to the sea are freighted with significance, both for Northern Ontario and the rest of the Province. In the first instance, they will, when the project is completed, end the inland status of Ontario. They will give the

Province an ocean front of its own, and they will open up to development a vast area of one-quarter the size of the whole Province, teeming with natural resources. Nature has been spend-thrift here in her bounty to Ontario. Water powers are in abundance, waiting to be harnessed in the interests of industry. Deposits of gypsum, fireclay and china clay are known to exist. Iron, gas and oil are hinted at, and in addition the generosity of Nature has expressed itself in creating a spreading area of ninety-three thousand square miles of fertile soil awaiting the coming of the agriculturist.

Thirty miles of steel were laid last spring, from Coral Rapids, on the Abitibi River, to Blacksmith Rapids on the same river, which runs through lignite fields now rapidly expanding under the encouragement of the Government. Eventually the T. & N.O. will stride over a steel bridge to be thrown across Moose River, and will wend its way on its final lap to the "unplumbed, salt, estranging sea."

Sharp falls and turbulent rapids will be brought under human control in the southern part of this vast and almost unexplored region. Here the dynamos of industry will be driven by the surge of power generated from the on-rush of waters. Mattagami River can contribute over 240,000 h.p. Missinaibi River can yield 38,000 h.p., and from the waters of the Abitibi itself 335,000 can be utilized. The

Abitibi is now being developed by the Abitibi Company, and negotiations by the Ferguson Government have resulted in the Hydro-Electric Commission taking 100,000 h.p. for this Company. The Company will also furnish the mines at Sudbury with energy at a very low rate.

Again, as in other areas, the rights of the people have been amply protected. Howard Ferguson stated some time ago that nothing would be allowed to stand in the way of Hydro expansion in Northern Ontario. He has been true to his word. If the work is carried on by those to whom Mr. Ferguson has handed the torch, the transmission line from Abitibi to Sudbury will be merely the first movement in an impressive overture of expansion. Other power sites will be developed and brought into the Hydro system, so that eventually the Government with its "cheap power" programme, will be the chief dispenser of energy throughout the northern mining country.

Yet water power, though certainly not the least, is but one of the many gifts which Ontario will receive from the development of this new area. Lignite fields, bordering the region of Blacksmith Rapids, will be utilized by the Ferguson Government to support the Hydro plants during low water seasons. Howard Ferguson has claimed that an unexpectedly large tonnage will be available in the lignite fields — large enough to play an important part in the indus-

trial development of the area, and in conjunction with Hydro power assure the Northern Ontario mines of a continuous supply of low cost power.

China and other clays abound in the region, and are probably the finest deposits in the Dominion. They can be used extensively in the manufacture of sewer pipe, fireproof tile, sanitary porcelain, stoneware goods, and vitrified products. The china clay deposits can be used to produce china.

The ease of quarrying the gypsum deposits make it possible that a great industry may arise from the employment of these deposits. The deposit fields are touched by the T. & N.O. Railway System, and this fact will solve the problem of transportation. These gypsum deposits are the largest in North America. They can be utilized in the arts and crafts, and in many types of fire-resistant building materials.

Indications of oil and gas exist in the Moose River Coastal basin, and iron ore deposits are also indicated at the Grand Rapids of the Mattyami River. One belt of one hundred feet wide occurs at the head of the rapids and another belt, twenty-five hundred feet wide, occurs at the foot of the rapids. The penetration of this region by steel will afford, in the near future, an opportunity to test the deposits.

James Bay has a coast line of about six hundred miles. The mouth of the Moose River is

the most logical site for an ocean port and railway terminal. If this ever is employed, Ontario will have a way to the sea all her own, and will be enabled, as is Quebec, to carry by rail and boat her traffic of merchandise which, if not "ivory, apes and peacocks" is at least vital to the wellbeing of the Province. It is significant, however, that after searching investigation the Ferguson Government has felt justified in authorizing the extension of the T. & N. O. to tidewater.

The economic value of the deep sea fisheries of James and Hudson Bays is yet to be demonstrated. Doubt has been cast on the benefit of such a project but a Dominion Government Report indicates that the white fisheries of James Bay will prove to be the most abundant in Canada if not surpassing the Great Lakes fisheries. The salt water white fish existing in the water of James Bay are said to be of the finest quality. There, too, speckled trout, lake trout, salmon, codfish, mollusc, white whale and seals abound. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that in this region is the raw material for another great industry which will materially benefit the whole Province and ultimately the Dominion.

Impressive agricultural promise has been claimed for the Moose River Basin. In Moose Factory, which has much the same summer temperature as Calgary and a winter tempera-

ture like that of Cochrane, modified by the large body of salt water—climatic and soil conditions permit the growth of all vegetables. But the entire coastal plain—similar in property to the extensive agricultural belt of Southern Ontario —is a vast expanse of fertile land awaiting the transmuting touch of the plough. Covered, as it is with boulder and marine clay, the land is indeed richly fertile and capable of earning for the multitude of settlers and agriculturists who will surely wrest it from its grasp, the sustenance without which humanity cannot exist.

That the Government under Howard Ferguson has fully grasped the potentialities of this unexploited empire is assured by the care it is exercising to preserve all privileges along the entire route. Pending the development of the railway, all the territory along the Abitibi, Moose and Matagami Rivers has been withdrawn from staking, under the Mining Act, in order that the Government may have a free hand regarding town sites and other developments which will follow in the train of the opening up of the region.

Most of the potentialities of this Northland empire are as yet unrealized. But the miles of shining steel gradually creeping over its rich lands will be the herald of an eventual and extensive development. The T. & N.O. Railway is in itself an interesting movement. When it is completed to tidewater its entire length from

Toronto to the proposed Ocean port will be 669 miles—merely a little over a day's journey. After leaving Cochrane, where it crosses the Canadian National Railway, the T. & N. O. wends its way across the Great Clay Belt to the steep northern edge of the pre-Cambrian Shield, over which it slides gradually into the Moose River Basin— the low-lying coastal plain which hedges James Bay and Hudson Bay from the Nottaway River in Quebec to the Churchill River in Manitoba. The portion of Moose River Basin within the borders of Ontario has an area of 93,000 square miles. Hitherto inaccessible, save by canoe and aeroplane, this wide-stretching tract with its heritage of water power, agricultural and mineral potentialities, is destined to contribute much new wealth to the already well-plenished coffers of Ontario. The extension of the T. & N. O. which will open the way to this desirable achievement reflects once again the constructive spirit which animates Howard Ferguson and the Government of which he is the head.

### (E) Agriculture

The agricultural field has been enriched also by the administration of Howard Ferguson and his Government. Howard Ferguson has taken a close personal interest in the young men on Ontario farms, and in association with the Minister of Agriculture has employed many

practical means of furthering their mental and physical welfare.

Ontario's dairy industry has gained considerably by the inauguration of cream grading which, by increasing the amount of Ontario butter going into first grade by 20 per cent., has restored the confidence of the trade in the quality of Ontario butter with a consequent benefit to the whole industry.

In many other ways the Ferguson Government has benefitted the Ontario farmer, notably in one instance where he has been saved hundreds of thousands of dollars by the Government's administration of the Farm Loan System and the reduction of the interest rate to 5½ per cent. as compared with rates of 6½ per cent., 9 per cent. and 18 per cent. prevailing in other districts. At the same time the interests of the Province have been well safeguarded, in that the revenue received has been considerably more than the sum expended since the inception of this system.

In the promotion and support of agricultural fairs and shows; in the successful wars against weeds and parasites; and in the marketing of produce the Ferguson Government has had an active and beneficial part. Experimental and demonstrative farms have been established, co-operative and loan schemes evolved, and the whole financial and social welfare of the Ontario farmer improved to a point never reached before in the history of the Province.

LIVE STOCK

According to the latest statistics, Ontario produces in dairy products over a hundred millions of dollars in gross revenue every year. This is an amazing figure when one remembers that it represents nearly fifty per cent. of the total value from this source achieved by all Canada. No good farmer ever underestimates the revenue-producing asset he has in his cows, and the farmers of our Province have learned by experience the value of pure-bred stock in this respect.

A comparison perhaps may be made in regard to Ontario's position in poultry farming. Here again it is the key province of the nine. No fewer than one-third of the total number of domestic birds in Canada are bred in Ontario. The poultry total is something over twenty million: eighteen million hens and half a million turkeys are the larger numbers with some six hundred thousand geese and roughly the same number of ducks. The hen production in the Province is 90,000,000 dozen eggs, valued at a good deal more than $27,000,000, representing thirty-three and a third per cent. of the total egg production of the country as a whole.

It may be felt that these are minor matters, but are they? We are steadily becoming more and more, so far as Eastern Canada is concerned, a manufacturing country; but Howard Ferguson as Prime Minister and the presiding genius of his Cabinet steadily kept in front of

him the fact that we are still, and for many years are likely to be, predominantly an agricultural country.

Let us look for a moment at the question of field crop production. Three years ago the value of Ontario's contribution in this respect was some $260,000,000, while the value of fruit and vegetable production three years ago was some little over $18,000,000, this latter figure being 40 per cent. of the total production of Canada. It is not to be doubted that so far as fruit and vegetables are concerned the Province actually stands quite alone, for its production is a good deal more than double that of the runner-up Province, and is practically equal to the sum total of the value of fruit and vegetable production in the other seven provinces in Canada. Observe for a moment what this means, not merely to initial production in respect of these items but, if I may use the term, secondary production. The steady and constant increase which is shown by the figures is responsible for the establishment in Ontario of large industries in canned, evaporated and preserved fruits and vegetables of all kinds, and in by-products and concomitants, vinegar, pickles, sauces, relishes, and so on, and additionally in cordials and native wines. No less a sum than some $28,000,000 represents the total turnover in these industries, and this figure is 85 per

cent.—no less—of the total production in these industries in Canada from coast to coast.

I have gone into this matter at some length because I am anxious to show that while Howard Ferguson is popularly regarded as the Premier of the Province, with, as his next important function and duty the Portfolio of Education, he has never been unaware of the value of every kind of industry in which to even the slightest degree the Province shares.

The successes in other phases of our national life, which the forceful personality and high gifts of Howard Ferguson have effected are a matter of history. Ferguson is a dynamic force —but a benign force. Under his jurisdiction the ministers of his government have worked arduously and zealously for the welfare of the Province and the honour of the Government. Read where you like—in any department of Provincial Government—you will meet the same record, varying perhaps in detail, but unfailingly recording a history of success made possible by the Midas-touch of Howard Ferguson, and the loyalty and exceptional abilities of his ministers.

Highways, insurance, social welfare work, tourist bureaus, workmen's compensation—scan these and other departments—everywhere you will find a close-binding loyalty, an efficiency and thoroughness of administration, that

are the reflex of a dominant personality—a constructive altruistic force—a man rising above the trappings of officialdom—gilding politics with a touch that is kindly, humane and understanding.

The successful administration of Ontario is not, of course, due to one man alone. It is due to a congerie of talents and personalities. But it is one man whose genial personality and driving energy have gathered about him men of unquestionable talents, men whose loyalty to their leader is of a very real and genuine quality, and whose service to the cause of the people of Ontario will rank high in the day of reckoning.

Howard Ferguson has vitalized Ontario. His radiant personality, his humane outlook, and—from a national standpoint—his statesmanlike vision and conception, have placed him on the crest of a wave of popularity that for years has steadily increased in volume. Because of what he is and because of what he has done, he has welded the people of Ontario into a solid people, and those people are with Howard Ferguson. As Minister of Education he is Canadianizing the non-English sections of the Province. As Premier he is making their Canadianization worth while. As a man, he is devoting his tremendous energies to the promotion of their welfare as indeed to the welfare of all Canadian people. In him you have a powerful triad of

personalities. Ferguson the Minister of Education, Ferguson the Premier, and Ferguson the Man. Howard Ferguson has the record of leaving a Province better than he found it. That is his contribution to Ontario.

## CHAPTER V

### Love of Canada: Loyalty to Empire

THE flame of patriotism is resplendent in Howard Ferguson. His patriotism is of that type which has led men in other eras to throw their lives into the crucible so that, by immolating themselves, the safety and integrity of their country would emerge intact and secure. Canada, we trust, has survived and outlived the need for martyrs. She has not outlived the need for a patriotism that can shine as brightly, although with a different lustre, as that which urges men to throw away their lives in a gesture.

Howard Ferguson's patriotism has not the glamour of an army with banners. He is essentially a man of his time. His patriotism is expressed, not in the fluanting bravado which dazzles the populace, but in the quieter, more constructive employment of his genius for the peaceful development of his country. One guesses that his imperialism is made up of three elements—the love of Ontario, of Canada, and of the Empire. These three elements are not conflicting. Separately they are the logical sequence of Canadian patriotism. Together they fuse into a unity which will do far more to further the relations between the

Dominion and Britain than all the abstract loyalty, the unthinking lip service, which so often is a substitute for real patriotism.

Howard Ferguson is governed first by a passionate love of his native province. Like Ulysses, he is part of all he has seen; his boyhood and youth nurtured in a stronghold of Canadian ideals, have inbred in him that devotion to Ontario which has been the dominant influence in his political and his private life. Ontario has profited by this devotion. It has progressed under his regime in a manner equalled in no other period of its history. In every legitimate cause the Premier has enlisted his dynamic energy and gifts of organization and execution. In another chapter is the record of his service to Ontario. That service speaks more eloquently than any volume could portray of his untiring efforts in furthering the cause of Ontario—in improving its people socially, industrially and morally—in caring for its unfortunates—and in affording opportunity to the underprivileged.

This love for his country is naturally bound up with his love for the Province. What benefits the one must benefit the other. His great gifts would have been immeasurably valuable at Ottawa, either as leader or as an important figure in federal politics. He has preferred to remain the head of the Ontario Legislature. Yet he is a man whose insight is keen and far-

reaching. He must have realized early in life that his work lay in serving Ontario. So he has served it to the fullest measure of his great ability.

The Premier has proved his sturdy Canadianism in and out of season. His attitude is neither fawning nor contemptuous. Self-reliant, unassuming yet zealous in claiming whatever he deems good for the country he represents a high type of Canadian—the type which has created a civilization out of a wilderness—which has met and conquered Nature, "red in tooth and claw"—which in these later days has been found so often at the helm of state in times of stress and storm.

The imperialism of the Premier is, one gathers, very real. It is also very sane. He believes in imperialism because he thinks in his heart that the British Empire is vital to the continued existence of civilization. And that is true. For decades the British Empire has radiated a civilizing influence. It has emancipated peoples. It has brought them from the degradation of slavery, given them a just, impartial administration, and developed these countries' resources until the colonized people have matured and become capable of accepting the responsibility of self-government. The colonized countries under the British Crown have often manifested unrest, but it has been more the unrest of a maturing son under the beneficent but disciplining hand

of his father. Despite the cries and slogans of fanatics and the abstract visionings of ascetics, the clear-sighted among the British-governed peoples realize that under the British flag they will always find justice, tolerance and a keen sympathy with opposing viewpoints.

Canada, of course, has thrown off the swaddling bands of colonization. She has become autonomous, self-governing, with at once a love and an allegiance to Britain founded on well-grounded sentiment. But her way is with the British Empire. Existing as a self-reliant partner in the great commonwealth of British nations her destiny can be realized more quickly and more organically than by any other measure. Canada contributes vitally to the resources of the Empire. The Empire as a whole can contribute vitally to Canada's welfare. On this basis rests the future relationship between the Dominion and Britain.

Howard Ferguson has something like this viewpoint in mind. His imperialism is not a heady intoxicant. He believes in an Empire in which the partners will bear an equal share—in which no partner will profit at the expense of the other. He is—it is magnificently patent—wholly impressed by the imperative need of closer relationship between the various Dominions within the Empire. He realizes the potentialities of that relationship in perpetuating the civilization for which it has in a large measure

SOWING THE SEED

been responsible. He realizes, also, that only in the formation of a closely-welded commonwealth—commonwealth knit together by the bonds of mutual affection and interest—can the Empire survive the changing and complex conditions prevailing at present, and emerge as a self-contained power whose capacities for the emancipation of the world and the bettering of humanity are unlimited.

The imperialism of Howard Ferguson is an integral part of his make-up. His Irish ancestry carries with it, along with many other attractive attributes, the quality of loyalty. Yet he is first and foremost a Canadian. In no spirit of bargaining, but with admirable and dogged persistency he is determined that Canada will share, in absolute equality, with every partner of the Empire. He believes that Canada has splendid gifts in her patrimony that call for equal returns. He believes that if Canada gives much she should have much return. He is as keenly adherent to the Empire as any other, but he cannot, one judges, consent to the casting of Canada's interests to the winds—men of sentiment; there must be a reasonable and a reasoned, "give and take".

This is a viewpoint entirely comprehensible. Canada has assumed the status of a nation. The rich heritage of natural resources, her potentialities as an industrial leader—more, her very standard of living—all contribute to her nation-

hood. She is a colony no longer. Neither, to be frank, is she a Dominion. She has reached maturity. She is capitalizing her heritage. As such, she has something to give—something vital to contribute to the Empire partnership. It is only fair to expect recognition of this by the other partners of the Commonwealth.

The staunch Canadian inevitably reasons in this manner. And Howard Ferguson first and last is a staunch Canadian. He is loyal. He has ancestral ties that pull him irresistibly to Britain. But, he is a Canadian.

This picture of Howard Ferguson as a patriot is not intended to convey an impression of a dour, uncompromising national, antagonistic to every influence that does not apply specifically to his own country. As any one who has come in contact with the Premier's genial personality knows, this conception is utterly at variance with the facts. Howard Ferguson is a man of wide sympathies and tolerance. He is able to reconcile the interests of the Empire and Canada. And they can be reconciled. When the Premier leaves the position he has long occupied as head of the Ontario Legislature and proceeds to England as High Commissioner there is no doubt whatsoever that he will promote the closer relationship of the two countries. His innate sense of tact, his courtesy and his broad human outlook will be highly acceptable in England. One imagines the Premier arriving in England

as an apostle of a newer order from which shall arise an Empire founded on mutual interests and strong in the willing co-operation of its individual partners. Howard Ferguson has a heavy responsibility. From his past achievements one gathers he will not only delight in the responsibility, but that he will turn it to good account in the strengthening of those bonds, already mighty, that hold Canada and Britain together in a community of mutual interest and affection.

## CHAPTER VI

### Mrs. Ferguson

THE public man who has been fortunate in the woman of his choice obviously owes to her a great debt, which, if he is honest, is one he will gladly acknowledge. A woman possessed of sensitive tact, of gracious personality and wide sympathies, can do much to smooth the way of her husband as he travels over the stormy water of politics.

Such a woman is Mrs. Ferguson, whose gracious charms and fine, sensitive nature I despair of capturing wholly in these pages. As the First Lady of the Province, Mrs. Ferguson has filled a difficult position with dignity, yet with a warm humane kindliness which has entranced everyone with whom she has come in contact. Much responsibility has been placed upon her, yet she has moved tactfully and serenely among high and low, leaving behind her, wherever she goes, the impression of a very lovely character.

The Ferguson romance is a golden chapter undimmed even now by the more prosaic demands of every day life. It is almost too fine a thing to comment upon save that it will help in a measure to convey a sense of that complete

unity of ideals and sympathies which has formed the *leit motif* of their lives together.

The romance of Mr. and Mrs. Ferguson flowers from a period in which love is not usually an overmastering or permanent emotion. Mr. and Mrs. Ferguson, as boy and girl, attended the same school in the township in which they lived. From that childhood association has bloomed a marriage which has had as its distinguishing characteristic an unswerving devotion and understanding.

It was inevitable that Howard Ferguson should carve a niche in the Ontario and Dominion temple of fame. Destiny, whimsical as it is, has a habit of singling out those with exceptional talents. In this instance there has been no variation. With an inexhaustible energy and a statesmanship suspiciously akin to genius, he has won the highest and most influential office his native Province could confer upon him. He would be the last to deny, however, the immeasurable assistance given to him by his wife through her loyalty and helpfulness. In his marriage, he has been singularly blessed by a devoted helpmate whose social attainments and rare gift of political sagacity have proved invaluable in forwarding his career.

No biography of Howard Ferguson would be complete without a reference to the charming woman who is his wife. Mrs. Ferguson is almost his *alter ego*—the beneficent spirit

presiding over his welfare. In her home and in public life she has devoted herself to him and to the many causes he has championed.

Her enthusiasm for the cause of the underprivileged has never lagged behind that of her husband. She has given unstintingly of her time and of her services to innumerable cases which have come under her notice. Her charms and tact are such that, wherever she meets a stranger, she leaves a friend. But her greatest service has been to her husband, and through him to the Province of Ontario. She has rounded out his personality. Her womanly insight has been always employed in his behalf, to counsel and advise where the more masculine perception perhaps would falter.

Throughout her public life, Mrs. Ferguson has shown unflinching courage. With her husband she has drunk from the cup of sorrow as well as from the cup of triumph. Yet she has never faltered. After the disastrous election of 1919, Mr. Ferguson was offered a post which would have enabled him to exercise his unquestionable legal ability and would have assured him of a salary amounting to $30,000 a year. A weaker man would have been tempted strongly to accept the post. Dark clouds loomed ahead of him and the political outlook was far from encouraging. Then, too, the salary would have eased the financial burden. Perhaps Mr. Ferguson hesitated as he thought of his wife

and the security he could bring her by accepting the post. Yet he resolutely put the temptation aside and declined the offer.

It was this incident which revealed the temper of the courage inherent in Mrs. Ferguson. Perhaps she, too, hesitated when thinking of the financial security and the freedom from political turmoils. If so, she never reveals it. She refused absolutely to encourage any suggestion of surrender—for acceptance of the legal post was tantamount to that. She realized that charges had been made against her husband's conduct in public life. She was determined that those charges should be refuted. With his wife thus unswervingly resolved upon the course which he himself felt to be the only one, Howard Ferguson resolved to remain in public life, meet the charges levelled against him, demonstrate their falsity and then perhaps consider the quittance of public life.

This decision must have meant a great financial sacrifice to Mr. and Mrs. Ferguson. Never overburdened with wealth, and dependent principally on the practice of his profession for his livelihood, Mr. Ferguson, during his four years in the opposition wilderness, sacrificed his income, and used his private means to vindicate the public reputation of himself and that of the Conservative Party.

He spent almost two years meeting the Timber Investigation Committee and combat-

ting the charges. He travelled at his own expense throughout the entire Province, visiting all the constituencies in an effort to unify the Conservative organization and enable his party to regain its strength and its place. The result of Mr. Ferguson's efforts are now a part of our history.

That four-years' battle waged by Howard Ferguson was carried on at a great sacrifice. Yet if he lost financially, he won morally, spiritually and politically. What the help and staunch encouragement of his wife during that time of stress meant to him, only Howard Ferguson himself can say. Her courage, her serenity and her unfaltering belief in him, must have aroused a deep thankfulness. Throughout those trial years in opposition she was with him, her presence as healing as a cool hand upon a fevered brow, her affection and loyalty always his, until the season of trial was over and Howard Ferguson led his cohorts into the promised land.

Howard Ferguson's devotion to his wife is remarkable. In the days when she was so ill after they just got into power, his devotion was marvellous.

They have no children and—I was told by one of her intimate friends—Mrs. Ferguson has often said, "Of course, looking back on it now, I see perhaps it was that I might be able to give my whole time to Howard . . ." and splendidly she has done it.

Mr. Ferguson goes to England at a time when his popularity is on the crest of the wave. That popularity, intensified as it has been in recent times, is the culminating award of a devotion that has been always placed at the shrine of Ontario. In this overwhelming popularity, his wife has a share in her own right. When Mrs. Ferguson accompanies her husband to London, Ontario will lose as its First Lady a woman it has loyally honoured. Wherever she goes, she will extend an influence for good, and she will actively participate in her husband's work for Canada and the Empire.

## CHAPTER VII

### A Colleague's View

THERE are among others three approaches one can make to a man in the assembling of material which will give a full length portrait of him. There is the approach from the public—how the man appears to those who know him only by repute, by casual encounters, or from hearing him on the rostrum. There is the intimate approach—the side the man reveals to his family—his hobbies, his interests—everything that pertains to the human and private aspects of his life. And again there is the approach through his friends—their views on his character and achievements, on his capacity for friendship, on his general characteristics as a man.

Not every man can withstand this searching test. Many have different moods in different contacts. A man may be sullen in the home and genial in public. He may be reserved with his friends, yet expansive and cheery in the atmosphere of his home. The fortunate man is he who remains himself in every circumstance—who is not a prey to his own moods and who meets everyone on the same basis.

Such a man is Howard Ferguson. The warmth of his personality, of which everyone

who has had the privilege of meeting him becomes conscious, is by no means surface-deep. Howard Ferguson is genuine. His geniality and kindliness are not qualities to be assumed or put aside as the occasion demands. Whether at home in the graceful companionship of Mrs. Ferguson, on the platform or on the hustings, or chatting intimately with friends, he is always the same urbane gentleman in his relations with the people with whom he comes in contact. Not that this urbane quality of his dulls the edge of that incisive and fighting quality which is his. Howard Ferguson has struck many shrewd blows in his championing of various causes. He will take on all comers. But the innate urbanity is there, deep below the ruffled surface, ready at any time to show itself in evidence and reveal all the charm and courtesy of the man.

If you go to the enemies of Howard Ferguson, and no man with character can dispense with a few good enemies, you will encounter, perhaps, reservations, but you will elicit grudging admiration. If you go to his friends the expression of their regard will astonish you with its vehemence. For Howard Ferguson is that type of man. He compels an intense affection from his friends. There are no half measures. Their affection and loyalty are his. He extends friendship. He receives friendship. He is the focal point upon which the regard of his associates in the people of Ontario is concentrated.

There must be something about a man who is the object of such affection and trust. What that something is forms the motive of this biography. Howard Ferguson has mingled with high and low. In any company he is Howard Ferguson—first the man, then the Premier. His engaging human quality has been touched on before, but it is perhaps well still further to emphasize this likeable and compelling trait.

Mr. Ferguson and the Honourable William Finlayson, one of his Ministers, have been close associates for many years. Through Mr. Finlayson we obtained many intimate glimpses of the Premier as a man and as the head of the Ontario Legislature.

Mr. Ferguson was Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines in the Hearst Government—a government which came into office during the war period. In Mr. Finlayson's opinion, the Premier is highly versed in all that pertains to Northern Ontario. He knows Northern Conditions thoroughly and possesses an exceedingly intimate knowledge of the history of that great wealth-source of the Province. The boundless possibilities of Northern Ontario have captured his imagination, and he is cognizant of the momentous events which are happening there and which will have such a tremendous influence on the future of Ontario's northland.

Mr. Ferguson has travelled extensively throughout Northern Ontario. Although an

Eastern Ontario man this travelling has given him an insight into the conditions in Northern Ontario that has been invaluable in many constructive developments. One of his remarkable qualities is the faculty of meeting people and obtaining valuable personal contacts from which he receives much information impossible to obtain in any other way. His appointment to the Ministry of Mines took him all over Northern Ontario in the days of the beginning of mining, and gave him the opportunity of meeting people and investigating conditions.

Mr. Finlayson stresses the pleasure he himself has experienced in co-operating with the present Premier who, it seems, has the history of nearly every town and village in the mining country at his finger tips.

When Mr. Finlayson assumed leadership of the Department of Highways in 1926, there were roads running through Muskoka and to Parry Sound—old country roads leading through Gravenhurst and Bracebridge, through Parry Sound to North Bay. There was an unopened tract of about eighty miles through the Temagami Forest Reserve. Again there were roads to Cobalt, Haileybury and New Liskeard and so right through ending at Cochrane. The Government conceived the idea of linking up these roads. The sixtieth year of Confederation was looming near, and an intensified effort was carried through to have the roads

linked up in time for the celebration of this stage in the history of Canada. The effort was successful, and the road through the Temagami Forest Reserve was also opened.

Before the opening of this road a meeting was held by the Governmental members. Suggestions were asked as to naming the Highway. Some were given. The meeting paused. Then someone suggested the name "Ferguson" Highway. Mr. Ferguson with his usual modesty laughed this suggestion aside and advised the acceptance of the name "Grand North Road", but his associates were determined on paying Mr. Ferguson this memorable tribute, and so the road was opened and became known as the "Ferguson Highway".

Mr. Finlayson is firmly convinced that the "Ferguson Highway" is destined to be the greatest of our Ontario roads. It starts South at Toronto, goes through York County and South Simcoe; up through Muskoka; on to North Bay; then through the Temagami Forest Reserve, where exists one of the greatest areas of uncut timber in the world. From there it proceeds through the vast mining countries, skirting the wonderful Lake Temagami—one of the most beautiful of all our lakes—on through New Liskeard, up to Cochrane and passing through Cochrane, halts at Hudson Bay. This highway in a few years will be a cross section

of Ontario, marching, as it does, across vast acres of lumber country, mining country and agricultural country. It is hoped that the name "Ferguson Highway" will eventually extend right down to Toronto.

If this is accomplished it will be a fitting testament to the influence and popularity of Howard Ferguson throughout the whole of Ontario.

Howard Ferguson was the originator of the much-discussed title, the "King's Highway". He claimed that "Provincial Highway" was purely utilitarian and utterly undistinguished, and suggested the adoption of "King's Highway" with a subtle psychological reference to the charm this name would exert over American tourists. The "King's Highway", he said, was English in origin and uncommon on this continent. It was a much better name than "Provincial Highway" as it evokes by association the romance and history of our kings. It also lends atmosphere. People who travel like to avoid the commonplace. They prefer to experience different sights and sounds, and to encounter the unusual. That was one of the attractions Quebec extended to visitors—the different language, different system of roads, different system of government, and always the unusual, old world charm of its rural and urban life. The name of the "King's Highway" cast a glamour of this sort, and tourists travelling Canada have been

impressed by its appropriate and charming name.

This is one of those happy yet revealing touches of the Premier's insight even into so presumably simple a matter as naming a highway.

Howard Ferguson is a man who combines two phases of our national life. He knows rural life thoroughly. He knows urban life equally thoroughly. He has been connected with industries, lumbering, mining and manufacturing, and again has become part of what he has seen, and the knowledge gained has rounded out the background of personal experience which the Premier has brought to his many administrative tasks. Mr. Ferguson is not academic nor aloof. He is part of the vibrant life going on around him, and extends actively into every phase of it that will further him in his task for Ontario.

An incident recounted by Mr. Finlayson reveals a typical instance of the manner in which Mr. Ferguson interests himself in people. In Mr. Finlayson's riding there was a typical farmer whose niece lived in the city. Every winter the farmer came down to see his niece. He could not appreciate the difference between Mr. Finlayson's office in the Parliament Buildings and his office in Midland. He would enter the office and stay for hours, after sitting and gossiping to his Midland friend, Mr. Finlayson.

Three winters ago the farmer was again camping in the Parliament Buildings, and Mr. Finlayson took him with him to a committee meeting. The farmer wore a country costume—coon coat, top boots and fur cap. On the way down they encountered Mr. Ferguson, to whom the farmer was introduced. Mr. Ferguson at once said to the farmer:

"Well, Harry, how did you winter? And how is the stock?" The farmer replied, and for a time the two amicably engaged in a barnyard conversation that seemed equally absorbing to them both.

This little incident serves to indicate the readiness of the Premier to adapt himself to the person with whom he is conversing, and to broach those subjects he knows will be of interest to his companion.

Mr. Ferguson has never spared himself in his efforts towards serving Ontario. He has travelled many miles under rigorous climatic conditions in order to obtain personal knowledge of the case he was investigating. In 1924, the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway had been extended beyond Cochrane. Mr. Ferguson went to Hudson Bay with Colonel Harry Cockshutt, Canon Cody, George H. Lee, chairmen of the T. and N. O. Railway, and an engineering staff. They paddled part of the way, camping out at night, and flew the rest of the way down to Moose Factory. They circled

around making examinations, then flew back to Remi, the repair base for Cochrane. During the period, Mr. Ferguson made a personal examination which was later to be found of immense value.

That is Howard Ferguson's way. That is the explanation of his extraordinary grasp of problems that are often only indirectly under his jurisdiction. And his experience is always at the disposal of the friends who seek his counsel. He is always ready to advise—willing to extend the benefit of his experience, knowledge and skill.

Above all, Howard Ferguson is always approachable—always disposed to help others if it is in his power to do so.

In connection with the tribute paid by the Hon. William Finlayson to Howard Ferguson and the discussion of the Department now under Mr. Finlayson's administration, it is well for us, perhaps, to remember how very truly Ontario is a Province of forests and trees. If we look back it is easy for us to see Ontario as it was in its very early days, and to compare it in respect of its forestration with the Ontario of 1930. We have wonderful tree and forest life in this Province of ours, and for years we may look at this asset not only in respect of its wealth as lumber, but also of its wealth as beauty. In another section we have been considering what lies under the rocks: we have been discussing the

attitude of Howard Ferguson in regard to mineral wealth. Let us now look at what is above ground. Mile upon mile of forest, thousands, and thousands and thousands of trees adorn Ontario. We may get hold of one fact that in this Province there are 10,000 cubic feet of growing timber for each inhabitant, man, woman and child, of Ontario. Such a figure as 200,000,000 acres of trees is difficult of comprehension. Yet that is the heritage of our people contained in their forests. Southern hard woods, St. Lawrence hard woods, the Laurentian Forest and the Northern Forest, these are the four regional types of tree which feature Ontario forest life. White and black spruce, white cedar, sugar birch, hemlock, pine, yellow birch —these abound in their thousands and their scores of thousands in our forest life, while oak, elm, ash, chestnut, walnut and willow, crest the sky.

But all this beauty needs protection. The Government which Howard Ferguson has headed has seen the wisdom, the conservative duty of the citizens of the Province in protecting these magnificent wood lands. It is easy to see how much wastage there might be. It is, alas, only too easy to see how much wastage there is. And aware of this wastage the Department of Lands and Forests in the Province with the enthusiastic endorsement and encouragement of Howard Ferguson as the Premier, has been re-

sponsible for measures whereby fire wastage may be checked and very considerably checked. All sorts of machinery, all sorts of men have been enlisted into service. Fires are fought daily by all kinds of crafts, the aeroplane, water craft of this kind and that kind, and even more by 'human craft'. I refer to that fine body of able, intelligent and hard-working men who have policed the forest areas of the Province for the purposes of protection from fire.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the passing in 1917 of the Forest Fires Prevention Act, which has resulted in the extraordinarily efficient system which we have to-day for protection of our forest and tree wealth from the all too easy ravages of fire. The people of Ontario owe a profound debt to the ministries who successively have realized the task in front of them, the task of conserving our forests and our trees; all have energetically pursued their duty.

## CHAPTER VIII

### On the Platform

THE student of rhetoric—if that terrible subject survives as a matter for study—will owe in his own way almost as great a debt to Howard Ferguson, the orator, as the public owes to Ferguson, the public servant. For in Howard Ferguson there is an example of that interesting phenomenon, the public speaker who is able to convince, nay more, to compel, without having recourse to rhetorical devices, and who is therefore no subject for academic study.

We are safe in saying that the day of great parliamentary oratory is probably past. The conditions under which modern parliamentary debates are carried on, combined with the greater speed of present-day life and the vastly increased scope of governmental activity, preclude the long preparation that must have gone to the creation of the speeches of a Burke; while the wider dissemination of reports, and the interest shown in these things by the people, necessitate the abandonment of a style such as made its appeal to the people of the England of George III. Not that great oratory has ceased to exist. Within our own lifetime we have witnessed the silver-tongued persuasiveness of a

Rosebery and the seductive eloquence of a Lloyd George. How does Howard Ferguson compare with these men?

He himself would be the first to disclaim his worth to be put on a level with such masters of the art of persuasion. Yet persuasive he undoubtedly is. As witness to this fact there is not only his immense personal popularity as a speaker, but the even more convincing evidence of his party's overwhelming majority in the Legislature; these facts are largely attributable to his own exertions "on the stump". What, then, is the secret of his power over men? A power to produce such results must be backed by more than his colourful personality. Nor do deeds and legislative enactments alone justify his enormous popularity. There must be, and in fact there is, something more; something in his personal address which endears him to the hearts of all who hear him; something which, like the eloquence of the great orators of old time, carries his hearers with him over obstacles to the achievement of an end which becomes the desire of his audience, as well as of himself.

Perhaps the keynote of his success is to be found in his own description of himself in his address to the Canadian Club of Toronto, delivered on April 10th, 1928. "To-day, as a humble citizen of this Dominion, I propose putting forth some suggestions." There we have it—"as a humble citizen of this Dominion". In

this simple phrase we have the key, not only to the unassuming character of the man, but also to the equally unassuming character of his eloquence. He prefers to speak as "a humble citizen", placing himself on a level with the humblest of his audience, so that all who come to hear may understand . . . More than understanding, they may come expecting to understand, which is half the battle in carrying persuasion. It is not a Prime Minister, not the head of a government, not a big executive that speaks when Howard Ferguson opens his mouth, but a man—a citizen like the humblest of his hearers, a plain Canadian like themselves.

His choice of words, we might say, is ordinary. His is no flowery eloquence. Never from his lips has anyone heard

> "Such polished antithetical periods
> That by comparison, as you must believe,
> Solomon himself faced with the Queen of Sheba
> And Bishop Such, preaching before the king,
> Joined in one person would have seemed mere trash."

Such circumlocutions, such beating about the bush are no more characteristic of Howard Ferguson the man than, they would be popular with his audiences. It is said of Cicero that a modern judge would soon put an end to his digressions were he to take a case in our courts to-day; and it is probable that, had Howard Ferguson ever been rash enough to address an audience in the flowing style of a Burke, his life

as a speaker would have been short. He had no need, however, to make such a dangerous experiment, being endowed by nature with that which carries vastly more weight than ponderous oratory—his unquestioned sincerity. Some among us, no doubt, at different points in his career, may have found ourselves unable to see eye to eye with him. But it has never been possible, in all his words and actions, to have a moment's doubt as to his sincerity, his earnestness and his zeal. Speaking always from the heart, with a conviction which has always carried weight, his words have been those which arise first from the heart, the simple words of every-day life. There is nothing recondite either in his vocabulary or in his references. You will not find in his recorded addresses any far-fetched metaphors or similes, any vast range of vocabulary. On the contrary you will find words and images drawn from every-day life and every-day occupations, the direct words which have a direct meaning for the man to whom they are addressed. They are the same words which are applicable in all walks of life, so that, in its simple directness, his utterance is equally intelligible and equally appealing to the farmer and the man of affairs.

This in turn implies another characteristic of the man which finds an echo in his spoken word—his humanity. He has the ability at a moment's notice to address almost any gathering extempore, because, while occupied with the

cares of office and the even greater considerations of Empire, he has never lost touch with the man in the street, the woman in the home and the child—wherever the child may be. Does a debate occur in the Legislature on the extension of hydro facilities in rural districts, Howard Ferguson is found thinking of the proposed extension, not in terms of high finance, nor necessarily in terms of provincial advancement, but in those human terms which are the counters of political reality. And this is how he puts it, realizing and bringing home to his hearers the great advantages which will accrue to the hard-worked woman on the farm: "The women are doing more than rocking the cradle nowadays. They pretty well run the whole show." Because he is at home with his audiences, understanding their difficulties and their problems and talking to them as they would talk to one another, his homely eloquence prevails.

Character, in short, reproduced in his address is the secret of his success as a speaker—a character at unity with itself and in which there is no discrepancy between the man, his feelings and his words. When we look at Howard Ferguson in person we see—what? A solid, sincere, genial, kindly, good-tempered, yet withal an earnest, vigorous and decided man; but a human being above all else. His speeches, like his statecraft, reveal his humanity, his love for his fellow men, his sincere devotion to his

associates. The continual absence of "high-faluting" and high-sounding phrases, even when he is touching on subjects which seem, as spoken of by others, to lend themselves to such treatment, is an earnest of his feeling. Take as an instance these few words from a speech delivered at Orillia in 1924, on behalf of under-privileged and handicapped children:

> "We spend money on opening up our country, and in developing the material side of our national life. Is it not much more important that we should develop the human side? There is no work so transcendentally important as that of moulding and building up of our human life—the very foundation of our being. The stronger we make the individual, the greater and prouder will be our nationhood in the future... Making the underprivileged and handicapped youth of the Province of Ontario into good citizens I regard as the greatest problem before my Government to-day."

Here we have part at least of the secret, not only of the popularity of Howard Ferguson as a man, and as a Prime Minister, but also of his persuasiveness as a speaker. Simple as the above words are, in their dignity and their simplicity they carry a conviction which no ranting, no maudlin sentiment could achieve. And spoken as they would be spoken by him, such words would carry even greater weight. The

flamboyant orator and the dramatic or histrionic speaker run the risk of irritating their audience, or of so far carrying their thoughts away by dramatic gestures and the like, that more often than not the value of their words is lost in the dazzling impression created. There are oratorical wizards like Mr. Lloyd George, men of a fiery eloquence, but whose influence fades when their presence is removed, leaving but a hazy impression on the mind, as of that produced by even the most realistic of dreams. There are quieter speakers whose gestures are few, but remarkable in their effective simplicity. In addition, many great speakers possess idiosyncrasies of their own, like that of Lord Rosebery—with his hand on the lapel of his coat, or Balfour, tugging at both lapels at once.

Howard Ferguson has none of these tricks. He has no great gestures, if we except his infectious smile, no artistic movements of a delicate or deprecatory hand, no confidential whisper. He stands for preference with his hands on the table before him, like a man who has laid, or is laying, all his cards on the table; and in that attitude he speaks. There is a stillness in his bearing which bespeaks the concentration of earnestness, yet no less the immovability of the man whose mind is made up; none of the restless and uncertain movements of the man who persuades himself by his own eloquence. There is an evenness of tone that denotes reliability.

After Dinner

Finally, there is a vigour and force that drives his words home like dies of steel, stamping them indelibly upon the minds of his hearers.

His force and vigour we know from observation, and they are coupled with a steady flow of words produced extempore, which betray the consistency of the man and give more than a hint of the relentless and unwearying manner in which he will pursue the course he has set for himself. But there is more even than this in the steady flow of his words, in the limited scale of his intonation, and that is a hint of the even-tempered justice and fairness which are salient points in his character. This is borne out by his manner in debate. Rare, indeed, are the occasions when Howard Ferguson becomes affected—very seldom do we see him even ruffled. Indeed, the reverse is more frequently the case. He comes back with a laugh, be it at himself or, as is more often, at his opponent, preserving his own equanimity. Speaking of himself as pictured by the Leader of the Opposition, following the latter from place to place, "What an obsession!" he cries, "What a nightmare! What an imagination! Then he paid me the compliment of comparing me with that Goliath of ancient Scripture who raved for forty days until he was slain by the little David who still sits over there".

But his good humour does not by the same token make him any the less terrible an oppon-

ent. Rather, indeed, it enables him, while preserving his own equanimity, to come back at his foe like a veritable whirlwind, or, changing our simile, like Goliath himself, with blows that strike home as from the impact of a club. The speed with which this seemingly unwieldy Leviathan can turn and rend his opponent in debate, can scarcely be likened to anything less phenomenal that that awful, superhuman speed with which the White Whale made havoc of his pursuers in Melville's masterpiece; and the blows he deals out, unlike the sharp harpoon-pricks he receives, are the crushing, annihilating blows that strew wreckage wherever their impact is felt.

Last, but not least, as a speaker Howard Ferguson convinces by his enthusiasm. Wholehearted and generous, vigorous of presence, outspoken and honest to a degree, he imparts his enthusiasm in such force as to carry every hearer with him. The steady glow of his personality warms not only his words but his audience as well. A great Canadian first and foremost, and only a great Imperialist in the second place, because his Canadianism is his very self; he succeeds in forwarding the two great movements of Canadianism and Imperialism because he is wedded to them heart and soul. Here are his words on Empire as spoken at the Conservative banquet on December 3rd.

"Imperialist, somebody says. Yes, I am an

Imperialist. The history pages show that the maintenance of the unity and spirit of the British Empire is essential to civilization. Go back in the annals of time, and what political organization ever existed in the world that has meant so much for security and liberty, that has laid the foundations so securely for better citizenship, greater freedom, and a higher type of life than has the old Empire? One might go back a long time, as I do not intend to-night, in picturing the loss that would accrue to the world were the British Empire to lose its force and strength and position, or become disintegrated. What has the Empire meant for the peace and security of the world? How frequently has she exercised the restraining hand to prevent conflicts? Tell me, if you will, how long the League of Nations could exist without the British Empire? These are some of the things this Empire has done, and out of the loins of that old Empire has been born the freest type of democratic government that the world has ever known, a type that has been copied by many nations throughout civilization. . .

"What has the old Empire done in an international way? Hasn't she taught the lesson of maintenance of international obligations, of national honour, throughout the world? These are the lessons we learn from history; these are the great factors that are impressed

upon those who give thought to these things. Is it not desirable that an Empire of that kind should be maintained, and that every section and unit of it should be drawn closer together and consolidated with one great purpose in view? The various Dominions of this Empire are interdependent and the measure of success for each that we look for, depends on the co-operation of the whole".

## CHAPTER IX

### Mr. Ferguson and the Cinema

THE versatility of Mr. Ferguson is a matter of general knowledge and of general acknowledgment. A concrete evidence of the width and of the accuracy of his outlook upon affairs is found in the establishment, during the period of his leadership, of the Motion Picture Bureau at the Parliament Buildings.

This bureau is not a small affair; it is an establishment of importance, of really great importance. The motion picture has become a significant factor in the lives of most of us—our people all go to the cinema—and the fact has to be faced that these places of entertainment have become a dominating force in the lives of the men, women and children of to-day. Whether or not we regret the devastating effect these places have had upon what we were accustomed to call "the legitimate drama", upon the old-fashioned stage, and upon old-fashioned vaudeville, is of little account. The effect has been achieved, and the picture is firmly established as an important element in the sociology of the peoples of the world. The fact that "talkies" have taken the place of "silent" films, that they have become popular, universally popular, is an affair of more than average

importance. When the actors remained silent, the pictures were capable of world-wide circulation. An Italian could act the part of an English king, a Frenchman could portray the character of a German general, and so on. But these anachronisms in drama have become impossible since actors must speak as well as look their parts. This innovation of speech in pictures will, to some extent, destroy the monopoly so long enjoyed by Hollywood. Gradually the industry—or art—will establish branches, studios, in all the great centres. With the use of speech, the necessity of the wonderful atmosphere to be found in sub-tropical countries, becomes less to the success of a picture. The arc lamps of the studio, instead of the strong sunlight, will be used to "light" future pictures, mainly because it is only in a studio that the human voice can be most conveniently "caught" and reproduced.

This fact puts all geographical conditions in a place of secondary consideration so far as motion pictures are concerned. A scene can be photographed in Toronto as easily, and as efficiently, as it can be photographed in the splendid atmosphere of southern America.

The British Empire has been slow in accepting the importance of the cinema theatre; at first it was regarded as a rather vulgar affair, and in the beginning perhaps it was a vulgar affair. But it has ceased to be entirely vulgar;

its unseemly elements are disappearing, and its future is as assured as the future of the radio is assured.

I imagine that Mr. Ferguson caused his government movie bureau to come into existence with considerable caution; it is possible that he had to encounter a certain amount of opposition in its formation, opposition even from his supporters. As I have mentioned, there existed a suspicion in regard to the "properness" of the cinema, the suspicion that it is not really a respectable business. That suspicion has vanished to-day, but it existed for many years. So I can imagine that Mr. Ferguson supported the official bureau with some degree of caution.

But he supported it, and of late he has redoubled its efficiency. Under Major Patton there is a staff of people in the Parliament buildings capable of handling any kind of a screen production. These people make educational pictures; they depict the activities of our people; especially they deal with such matters as Agriculture, Forestry, Mining, Health, Sanitation and Sport.

It was in 1923 that Mr. Ferguson's Government established studios and laboratories where these films were made; made entirely by Government employees, from the scenario to the finished print; no outsider was employed.

Some of these pictures inform the farmer of

better methods of farming, familiarize him with the best types of live stock, and show him the latest methods of pest control. In the cases of films of a more general character, the pictures present before the children views of the natural resources, beauty spots and activities of the Province in which they live.

In response to the insistent demand from the people of the Province for views of British life and pictures of the British country side, Mr. Ferguson's Government sent over officials of the Motion Picture Department to secure films of this nature for distribution throughout the Province.

These films are distributed at a nominal charge to the people of the Province. In addition to the films of the Province and of Britain, a library of drama and comedy pictures is available for distribution to supplement the educational programmes. These are used to form the nucleus, and in many cases, perhaps, the entire evening's programme of entertainment, in those outlying districts where little or no entertainment exists.

These films are designed so that they may be used as an advertising medium in other countries.

A later development will possibly be the production by means of the movie camera of scenes depicting the history of the province. No

country has had more romance interwoven with its development. From the time of Frontenac and of La Salle, of Du Lhut, Haldimand, Simcoe and Brock—to leave the politicians alone for a moment—the history of Ontario has been a panorama of splendour. One can imagine how picturesque such scenes would appear on the screen and one knows with what dramatic effect Major Patton and his assistants could arrange such tableaux of pageantry. Frontenac building and manning Fort Frontenac at Cataraqui —designed to overawe the Iroquois it is now the quiet and dignified city of Kingston. It was from this fort in Frontenac's time, in the last decades of the sixteenth century, that La Salle went forth to discover the Mississippi and establish the colony—as it was then—the colony of Louisiana. To this fort came Du Lhut—Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut—perhaps the most picturesque adventurer that Canada ever contained; but he was something of a torment to the French officials, and especially was he troublesome to the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay."

And then there were the other explorers—Hudson himself, Pierre Radisson, a dozen men distinguished in history. Then the settlers filter in—the Loyalists, the ex-soldiers and the immigrants. Simcoe came after Haldimand, and some years afterwards came Brock and the

little disturbance with the States. All these episodes and personalities present material for a large number of pictures which should be filled with dramatic effect and historic value.

I believe Mr. Ferguson had long contemplated the use of the film in the schools as a teacher of history and to some extent of geography as well, and probably no more interesting method could be inaugurated. But, apart from the school, such dramas could be produced depicting the history of Ontario, of Canada, obtaining their place as attractions in the picture theatres, and incidentally profitable at least to an extent that would pay all the expenses of their production and distribution. All the necessary machinery is already in existence in the Parliament Buildings, and it remains only to rig up the curtain and enact the plays.

It is fitting that mention should be made of that department which is so closely attuned to the moving picture business that it is controlled by the same officials—I refer to the "still photographs", to the ordinary pictures. During the life of the Ferguson Government the activities of the official photographers have been enormously increased, and the scope of their operations have been enlarged. At Queen's Park one can obtain a wonderful assortment of first-class photographs illustrating every phase of life in Ontario. There are to be seen pictures of birds

on their nests, animals in their native haunts, fish in and out of the lakes, and insects and men performing unusual as well as normal tasks.

But one of the few pictures of interest to the people of Ontario which you will fail to find in that artistic collection, is a photograph of Mr. Ferguson himself!

## CHAPTER X

### Howard Ferguson in London

WE come now to consider Mr. Ferguson's translation to London, why he goes there, and what he intends to do there. The man in the street may wonder why, at the age of sixty, the most popular Provincial Premier abandons a position of easy dominance amongst his own people to essay a new and difficult task in the old world. Such an up-rooting of life is difficult for any man. To a man of Mr. Ferguson's warm heart and multitudinous friendships, the personal cost is heavy. As he has said himself, the wrench is a terrible one. He hates to leave his happy hunting ground here, but he has heard the call to a higher service, and he has responded. He is leaving a position of supreme power and authority, where his lines are cast in pleasant places, to launch out on a great imperial adventure.

In endeavouring to assess a man's motives, it is generally useful to look at his family tree. The kind of home out of which he came and the type of ancestry from which he sprang will explain much. Applying this test, we find that Mr. Ferguson was exceedingly happy in his choice of forebears. Both his father and mother came of loyal Ulster stock with some Scotch

blood thrown in. His father, Dr. Charles Frederick Ferguson, M.P. for North Leeds and Grenville, was an ardent imperialist, as was also his paternal grandfather who came from County Leitrim, Ireland. His mother was the daughter of Robert Bell, M.P., well-known civil engineer, editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, strong Conservative and eager loyalist. It may readily be imagined, therefore, that Canada's place in the British Empire and the British Empire's place in civilization were often the subjects of conversation in Mr. Ferguson's boyhood home. He listened to stories of British heroism on land and sea, and his boyish heart swelled with pride as he read of British exploits and British achievements. His mind became steeped with British history. As he grew up he began to understand something of the part which the Mother Country had played repeatedly in the rescue of Europe and civilization from world-conquering tyrants, and in carrying free speech and self government and civil and religious liberty to the world's ends.

While still a youth, his growing knowledge of what the British race had done for mankind down through the centuries inspired in him the ideal of service. His young heart thrilled with what he might do for Canada and the Empire some day. The whole atmosphere of the home was friendly to the idea of service. This fact was illustrated by a story which Mr. Ferguson

told a gathering of friends at Brampton the other day. His father maintained a room above the kitchen in his home at Kemptville, where six beds were maintained exclusively for the use of such tramps as wanted a night's rest indoors. The only condition attached to this free lodging with breakfast was that the recipients had to take a bath. One day a man came to the house in an exhausted condition. He had probably heard of the Ferguson hospitality, but let Mr. Ferguson tell the story in his own words:

"My father said he had better have a meal and a night's sleep before he thought of work. Well, that chap stepped in the house and he was there three years. He lived with us. We found that he was a third year man at Oxford, and it was from him, sitting with his chubby pipe at our kitchen table, that my brothers and I learned all the Latin, Greek, French and German that we had when we started at the university.

"This man, whose name was Maxwell Kean, spoke at a local church. The congregation liked his speaking so well that they had him preach sermons on Sundays. Subsequently Kean had expressed a desire to be ordained as minister. They let him write the examinations without going to a college, and, do you know, he passed all the examinations without tuition.

"He took a church in a little village nearby, and if you go there to-day you will see that the biggest monument in the cemetery bears the name of Maxwell Kean, and an inscription in which the townspeople who erected the stone record for all time what a great influence for good he was in their lives.

"I merely tell you that story because I want you to understand the kind of home in which I was reared. The atmosphere of that home was public service, and that was what gave me the flair for public service, the desire to try to do something for other people.

"I have tried conscientiously all the years I have been in the public life of Ontario to give the best that was in me, and on this new mission my wife and I will devote just as conscientiously whatever strength and ability we have to that task."

Coming of such stock, living in such a home, young George Howard Ferguson could not be other than a strong Britisher, a warm-hearted man, interested in the underdog and the unfortunate, and a keen servant of the public interest. It is probable that the Englishman with the Oxford University education, to whom his father gave shelter and who remained with the family for three years, drove home the lessons which the boy had received from his father in regard to the British Empire. At any rate, he arrived at the University of Toronto,

and at the age of manhood, strongly imbued with a profound faith in the British Empire, its past history and its future possibilities. All that he read and learned in business and in public life only served to confirm him in his early convictions regarding things British, and the British mission amongst the nations. Hence his continuous championship of the Imperial cause. Though he has never been a flag flapper, and though he has always carried his provincial battles on the immediate public issues of the day, he has never ceased to strike the right note on Imperial questions. He has always struck that note instinctively, because he has ever been, as he still is, animated by a genuine warmth of feeling of the Mother Country and for the British Empire as the most potent secular factor for good in the world to-day. He has always been a subscriber to "the English prejudice that character and conduct and creed are three-quarters of life, and intellect and learning only a fourth part". He feels that Great Britain made the greatest sacrifices in the winning of the Great War and that since then she has made the greatest contribution towards world peace in the way of voluntary armament reduction on land, sea and in the air. He agrees with Kipling's sentiment expressed in "Kitchener's School", published in 1898. No sooner had Kitchener completed his conquest on the Upper Nile than he set out

to give the liberated populace the advantages of schools and education. In this poem Kipling speaks of "the mad English" who teach the conquered races their own magic:—

> "Certainly they were mad from of old;
> but I think one new thing,
> That the magic whereby they work
> their magic—wherefrom their fortunes spring—
> May be that they show all peoples their
> magic and ask no price in return.
> Wherefore, since ye are bond to that
> magic, O Hubshee, make haste and
> learn".

In upholding Great Britain as the sanest of all democracies and the sheet anchor of a troubled world, Mr. Ferguson lives up to the standards set for the Conservative party by Sir John Macdonald, who in his last election campaign made the famous declaration:—"A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die". In so doing, the father of his country and founder of Liberal-Conservatism epitomized an outstanding article in the party creed. Attachment to the British Crown and to British traditions has ever been a cardinal doctrine in the faith of Canadians—a doctrine which is held just as strongly in Quebec as in the other eight provinces, French-Canadians being loyal to the throne for practical as well as sentimental reasons, as they recognize in the British connection a permanent guarantee of their liberties under Confederation.

It is the retiring Premier's conviction that in

a sane imperialism is to be found a sure refuge from, and defense against, the narrowing provincialism which centres itself wholly in parochial affairs. As citizens of a self-governing state within the Empire, our interests are world-wide, our viewpoint cosmopolitan. Identified with Great Britain and other parts of the Empire, Canadians can do their part in extending the benefits of civilization, in elevating the child peoples of the earth towards self-government, as is being done with India to-day, and in championing the cause of liberty and right wherever it is found in weakness.

This is Mr. Ferguson's view, and it may indeed be said that he shares with the late Lord Milner that great statesman's creed of Empire; that creed is that British patriotism is not confined to any part of the Empire, but reaches out to all countries which own the same crown and flag. With such a conception it is impossible to lose interest in and attachment toward our fellow citizens across the sea. In Mr. Ferguson's view, patriotism is a combination of common sense, self interest and exalted sentiment. The Milner creed included this clause:—

> "I feel myself a citizen of the Empire. I feel that Canada is my country, Australia my country, New Zealand my country, South Africa my country, just as much as Surrey or Yorkshire. We are told that there is no

such thing as citizenship of the Empire. In the purely juridical sense, that may be true. Juridical definitions spring out of and no doubt strengthen, and to some extent stereotype existing human relationships. They do not create them. The tendency to monogamy led to the institution of marriage. When men's political relationships were bounded by a province, citizenship was limited to a town. In time it was widened. There is such a thing as citizenship of a country. It is only a question of time when the expansion of the race will compel a new juridical conception, that of a common citizenship of all the countries which that race inhabits or controls".

In his championship of this world-empire conception, Mr. Ferguson has never been backward. Ardent party man though he is, he puts imperial considerations before partisanship. At the great Liberal-Conservative convention held in Winnipeg in 1927, he took an out and out stand as to Canada's course in case of another war. Angrily interrupting the proceedings, he refused to countenance what he considered the paramount issue of imperial defense. Rather than yield any ground he attacked a former prime minister who, he thought, had advocated a too hesitant course. He was right, and Canada knows that he was right.

During the late federal general election which resulted in a triumphant victory for the Conservatives, he yielded no ground to Mr. Mackenzie King and the other status mongers. He described them as travelling over to London every few months with the object of breaking down the constitution and weakening the imperial ties. He was cheered to the echo when he said that he required to take no lessons in loyalty from the Premier of that day. It may be pointed out, incidentally, that Mr. Ferguson and not Mr. J. H. Thomas was the first to use the word "humbug" in relation to tariff proposals. At Cobourg, on June 25th last, he said that under the Mackenzie King Government, Canada was still subject to fiscal domination from the United States. By reason of the countervailing device our tariff could be changed over-night by politicians at Washington. In view of this, the King-Dunning British preference put forward "as a pro-British gesture was the greatest piece of hypocrisy and humbug ever pulled in this country".

Always his attitude has been that Canada should emphasize and protect and safeguard its national integrity on the northern half of this continent, not only for its own sake, but also in the interests of the British Empire. This is probably one reason why he has favoured the construction of the St. Lawrence waterway as a national, rather than an international, under-

taking. It is conceivable that his view may be illustrated by a passage from Scripture:—

> "And Esau came from the field . . . and said to Jacob, 'Feed me with . . . pottage' . . . And Jacob said, 'Sell me this day thy birthright'. . . And he sold his birthright unto Jacob. . . Thus Esau despised his birthright." Genesis xxv.

The United States may be likened to Jacob, materially successful, highly prosperous, bent on securing its own interests, clever in diplomacy, protected behind reservations and ambiguities in its own constitution—reservations and ambiguities which hamper it in carrying out treaties with other nations. Canada for the moment may be Esau, recently returned from the field of war and, partly because of the war, not overburdened with the immediate financial means to develop all its natural resources in the speediest manner. The St. Lawrence River, or rather Canadian sovereignty over those portions of the river which are purely Canadian, is Canada's birthright. American assistance in the construction of the St. Lawrence waterways may perhaps not unfairly be looked upon as the mess of pottage for which Canada is asked to barter its birthright.

We all know the position of a minority shareholder in an enterprise dominated by a powerful partner. The lesson seems to be that we

should not act hurriedly, impatiently, or with undue precipitation. The fact is, that the Dominion is moving ahead so rapidly in the amassing of wealth from its mines and other natural resources, that before long we shall have the means to construct the canals "on our own". There is also the consideration that the revenue derivable from the available water-power will pay for both canals and power plants. Why, then, should we not do the work ourselves even if it takes a little longer? Then we can extend to the United States the free use of the completed canals. By following this course we shall avoid joint ownership and unnecessary friction with a very good neighbour. We shall avert the danger of being involved in American politics, or in the self-contradictions of American constitutional arrangements which often make it difficult for Washington to implement the treaties into which it enters. We should not forget that even Mr. Taft described the Reciprocity Pact of 1911 as a means of making this country a commercial annex of the United States. We rejected the mess of pottage then, and we are in a position to repeat that gesture of freedom to-day. We need not turn aside from the true national course to fashion for ourselves a calf of American gold. In short, let us consider well what we are to do with our own. Let us

not despise our birthright. This, we think, expresses Mr. Ferguson's views.

The subject of this hurried biography has no doubts about the superior advantages of British citizenship over American citizenship. He would rather be a door-keeper in the British Empire than dwell in the tents of iniquity. He shares in full the sentiment which the American historian, Mr. Sidney George Fisher, places in the mouths of United Empire Loyalist descendants. He makes these descendants address the people of the Republic in the following words:

> "If you had remained with Great Britain you would be free from the scourge of lynch-law, with its hundreds of victims every year; you would be free from the burning of negroes at the stake, and from the wholesale murder and assassinations which have prevailed in parts of your country. Such conditions are unknown under British rule. By remaining with Great Britain you would have avoided the Civil War of 1861, with all its train of evils, the long years of misgovernment which preceded it when the slaves were escaping to the free States, from the frightful misgovernment of the carpet-bag and reconstruction period, because all your slaves would have been set free, and their owners paid their value in 1833 when slavery was abolished by England in all her colonies. In a similar way you would have escaped your

vast political corruption and the disgraceful misgovernment of your large cities. You made a mistake when you broke up the British Empire in 1776".

On November 12th, The London *Times* gave unusual prominence to a letter from Mr. Ferguson emphasizing the loyal attachment of Canada to the Mother Country and urging closer economic ties as a means of further cementing the union. He dwelt upon the sacrifice made by the United Empire Loyalists who came to Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the time of the American Revolution. He recalled that they abandoned the refinements of civilization to hew out homes for themselves in the Canadian forests, so that they might remain British subjects and retain their connection with the Empire. He added:

"To them is due the remarkable and interesting fact that monarchical institutions develop and flourish on the North American continent alongside a powerful republic. Canada has no doubt which is the sounder and more durable form of government. If there is fervour in our expressions of devotion to British ideals and traditions it is inherited from those pioneers. Their influence prevails because many of their descendants have gone from the older to the newer provinces in the west, and their experience in municipal and political systems of government has given them a leading place in

the development of the younger communities".

He pointed out that another and equally important factor in preserving British rule in Canada was the subsequent immigration from the British Isles. After the Napoleonic wars there was a steady stream of population from England, Ireland and Scotland, and no better element could have been selected to follow the Loyalist pioneers. They helped to make permanent the dominant sentiments towards the Mother Country; and the creation of the Dominion in 1867 was undertaken to strengthen the Imperial connection. He urged that the time had now come to strengthen further the ties of Empire by an economic alliance. He expressed the feeling that the resources of statesmanship should be equal to the task.

Mr. Ferguson is indeed typical of that great body of natives, born in this country and in other outlying parts of the Empire, who feel about the Motherland, England, like old John of Gaunt:—

"This royal throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle. . . .
This other Eden, demi-paradise. . . .
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea. . . .
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England. . . .
Renowned for Christian service and true chivalry. . . .
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world. . . ."

Those who have talked with Ontario's "Happy Warrior", or heard him speak in and out of the Legislature, or read the many speeches which he has made throughout his public life, will

realize that these beautiful lines from Shakespeare express his deepest sentiments towards the Motherland. Knowing that she is the mother of free institutions and self-government throughout the world, that she has been instrumental in setting up these free institutions on every sea, and that those foreign countries which have responsible government have only copied her example, he is satisfied in his own mind that her continued existence as the centre of a world-wide Empire is essential to the continued maintenance of civilization. And thoughtful men everywhere agree with him. They realize that if disintegration were to overtake the world-wide British Empire, the world would lose its chief stabilizing and civilizing influence. Need we seek any further for an answer to the question as to why the Canadian High Commisioner elect is leaving the land of his birth

## CHAPTER XI

### What Will He Accomplish?

ENOUGH has been said to show that Hon. G. Howard Ferguson is peculiarly fitted by blood, birth, education and political genius to fill the Canadian High Commissionership with credit to this Dominion and with advantage to both Canada and the Empire. We have seen that his heart is bound up in the maintenance of the Empire as almost the last political institution to which mankind may turn with a sense of security. He is a worthy successor to Galt, Tupper, Strathcona, Perley and Larkin, and it is conceivable that he will be able to accomplish more than any of them. During his visit to London at the time of the Imperial Conference in the autumn of 1930, he consented to address the Royal Empire Society, formerly known as the Royal Colonial Institute. When asked by a deputation from that organization what he would speak about, he said: "About the most important thing in the world." "And what is that?" queried the interviewers. "The unity of the British Empire", replied Mr. Ferguson.

This brief conversation explains why

Ontario's favourite statesman is interested in the Canadian High Commissionership. He sees in the London office, at the present critical juncture in Imperial affairs, an opportunity to serve not only Ontario and Canada in the world's capital, but also to promote the cause of Imperial economic unity, including Empire preferences which Mr. Bennett recently put forward, and which the British people appear inclined to accept over the heads of the Ramsay MacDonald Government.

According to the reports of those who accompanied Mr. Ferguson thither, he is quite as popular there as he is in his native province. His relationships with British Labourites, Liberals and Conservatives are equally cordial; and there is no doubt that a man of his Empire enthusiasms, and of his practical capacity for getting things done, will do a great work in London.

Premier Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. J. H. Thomas both attended the official opening of the new Ontario House in London last month. This was an unusual compliment for the overburdened Prime Minister to pay the representative of a province. It indicates the high regard in which Mr. Ferguson is already held in the Imperial capital. As for the new Ontario House itself, it indicates the practical side of Mr. Ferguson's mind. For many years

Canadians visiting London had been shamed by the meagre quarters occupied by the Provincial Agent General on the Strand. The building was so narrow that a good-sized man had almost to turn sideways to get through the door. Such limited facilities suggested to the passing throng in the Empire's main thoroughfare that Ontario was either improverished or parsimonious. The Ontario Building appeared the more inadequate because it was over-shadowed by the huge and imposing Australian headquarters just across the way. This did not suit Mr. Ferguson. He expressed dissatisfaction with the situation two or three years ago, and decided that something should be done in the way of giving the province a decent building at the heart of the Empire. He was ready to spend a quarter of a million dollars on the improvement, but some time elapsed before the necessary site could be acquired. The Government was at length able to purchase the land upon which the old office stood, together with the adjoining lot. Contracts were let for a new building which was completed this year, and Ontario now has a building more in keeping with its population, wealth and dignity. As already indicated, Mr. Ferguson attended the official opening a few weeks ago. The location is an excellent one, as is faces the "Aldwych Island" at the confluence of the Strand, Fleet Street and the Kingsway. Not only will this new Ontario

Government building in the heart of London present Ontario adequately to the British world; it will give the Agent General and his staff space in which to carry on their highly important task of attracting British capital and British people to this province, and of broadening the British market for Ontario products. One believes that there has been no more prudent investment of capital by any Ontario Government than that involved in this departure. A reproach to Ontario is removed. Henceforth people from this province will be proud to walk along the Strand.

There can be no denying that Mr. Ferguson's mind moves along practical as well as sentimental lines. He sees that the permanence of the Empire must be based upon sentiment joined with business. He visualizes the commercial unification of the Empire for the joint development of its unparalleled resources, and thus for greater prosperity, not only at its heart, but to its remotest extremities. Like the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin he views the Empire as an economic combination, with ocean passage taking the place of the railways which, for instance, knit the various parts of the United States. He feels that the British electorate, long steeped in the ideals of one-sided free trade, has of late learned a great deal through foreign dumping and the growth of unemployment. The simple truth is, that the people of Great Britain now

see that they have never enjoyed free trade. What they have had, and still have, is a large measure of free imports, with steadily rising tariffs against them in every part of the world. For a very long time Britain has been more and more an easy mark for the aggressive exporters of highly tariffed countries. It is this defenceless position which year after year has borne heavily on British industry, kept down wages, deprived people of work, introduced the dole, and played havoc with the Empire generally.

So much for the position of Great Britain! What about Canada? There is no gainsaying the truism that if, and when, the Motherland taxes foreign food to the advantage of home grown and Empire grown food, the problem of Canadian wheat growers, the Canadian wheat pool, Canadian fruit growers, Canadian dairymen, and Canadian cattle raisers, will be solved overnight. Once this country, along with the rest of the Empire, obtains a substantial preference in the British food market, our whole body of agriculturists will leap into a new era of profits and prosperity.

Thus far Mr. Ferguson can agree with Lord Beaverbrook, who has written that our Imperial resources in raw materials, in labour, in technical and managerial skill, point us to the methods of mass production as the way of prosperity. But mass production means production not only

in masses of articles, but also for masses of consumers. Those masses of consumers are available within the Empire, which covers a quarter of the earth's surface with a combined population of 450,000,000. That market is worth aiming at and creating. There is little that a united Empire would have to buy from outside its boundaries as compared with what the rest of the world would be obliged to buy from it, and the resulting influx of wealth would create an enormous domestic demand and consumption. A system of Imperial economic unity such as is thus indicated, will correspond with the multifarious realities of the Empire, and direct the currents of Imperial trade to those quarters where they will promote the most production, and consequently, the most prosperity. The instincts of all the British peoples tend in this direction. The progressive conversion of the United Kingdom is indicated by the recent declarations of the British Conservative leaders, and of outstanding British Liberals and Labourites in favour of protection with intra-Imperial preference. Leading British bankers, industrialists and shipping magnates have also got behind the policy of Imperial economic unity. If the vision of a self-supporting Empire can be realized, the nations which constitute the British Commonwealth will be immensely benefitted, and more than able to hold their own with the greatest

nations in the world—even against a fiscally united continent of Europe as against the fiscally protected United States. This is an inspiring dream—a dream that can be made to come true—and Mr. Ferguson is going to work in that direction, as the Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, Prime Minister of Canada, is also working. If the next general election in Great Britain results as we think it will, the British delegation to the adjourned Imperial Conference at Ottawa in the coming year, may be expected to acheive progress in the desired direction.

In order to obtain a closer and more comprehensive view of the Hon. G. Howard Ferguson's aims in going to London, we may review the speeches which he has made to his political and other friends on the eve of his departure. At the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, on the night of December 2nd, he was bidden "God speed" by 1700 of his admirers, drawn from every constituency of the Province. The atmosphere of sadness which marked his farewell gave way to one of cheerfulness as he spoke of what he hoped to do across the water. After speaking of the wrench he felt in tearing his life in Ontario up by the roots he proceeded:—

> "But if one is to devote his life to public service, one must rise to the opportunity that comes. You must be prepared to assume responsibilities and new burdens whenever

they arise, and you must do it with all your might.

"After ten years of leading this party, loving this party, devoted to the people of this province, there has come a time when I feel, it has been impressed upon me at any rate, that a wider and greater field of endeavor opens up for me in which I may be of some small service, not only to my province and Dominion, but perhaps to the old Empire which I love so dearly.

"Imperialist, somebody said I am. Yes, I am an Imperialist. (Loud applause). History teaches us that the maintenance of the unity and strength of the British Empire is essential to civilization. Go back in the annals of time, and what political organization ever existed in the world that has meant so much for security and liberty, that has laid the foundations so securely and well for a better citizenship, greater freedom and a higher type of life than has that old Empire. (Loud applause).

"One might take a long time, as I don't intend to now, in reviewing—aye, may I put it this way, in picturing the loss that it would be to the world were the British Empire to lose its force and strength and position, or to become disintegrated. What has the Empire meant for the principles of security of the world? How frequently has she

exerted a restraining influence to prevent conflict and war? Tell me how long the League of Nations would exist without the Empire?

"Those are some of the things that this Empire has done, and out of the loins of that old Empire has been born the freest type of democratic government the world has ever known, a type that has been copied by many nations throughout civilization. The experience of a thousand years in the development of representative government has been an example to the world, and with her great missionary efforts stretching her influence to the remotest part of the world, what has she meant for freedom, development if you like, for encouragement to those that are oppressed and in trouble in the smaller nations?

"The British navy does not exist as an agressive, belligerent force. It is not intended for that purpose, but it is a great policing agency for the world. It brings about orderly conditions on sea and land, and it guarantees freedom of action to nations and to individuals. I wonder if any other country in the world could establish a navy based upon the same principles and inspired with the same spirit? What has the Old British Empire done in an international way? Has she not taught a lesson in the maintenance of international obligations and of national honour

throughout the world? These are the lessons we learn from history. These are the great factors in the world's progress that are impressed upon us as we give thought to these things.

"Is it not desirable that an Empire of that kind should be maintained and that every section and unit of it should be drawn closer together and consolidated with one great purpose in view?

"The various Dominions of this Empire are interdependent and the success of each one—although, it is true, we may have a measure of success individually—depends on the co-operation of the whole.

"Holding these views as I do—and I suppose that is called Imperialism—I go as a matter of public duty to see if there is the slightest, smallest contribution I can make as a representative Canadian, towards linking together a little more closely, towards strengthening the fibre and quickening the blood that runs through the veins of the great British organization. (Loud applause).

"I know the task is a difficult one. I may not succeed in doing anything, but I have the will to try. (Loud applause). And so far as my ability, my strength and my effort is concerned, Ontario, Canada and the dear Old Empire will have the best that is in me." (Applause).

Mr. Ferguson returned to the same subject in his address at the second annual meeting of the Technical Service Council on the night of December 4th. He said that one of the great difficulties between Canada and Great Britain was that we do not take full advantage of the opportunities that we have in trade over there, and that they do not take full advantage of their opportunities in Canada. He touched on the dole system and on the spread of socialism and went on to say: "I am not going over there to sell wheat particularly. I am going over there in the hope that I may do something to remould and revive the spirit of the British people. My observation teaches me that the old patriotic fervour for British ascendancy and British development is to a large extent broken down. I never would have thought of leaving friendships of a lifetime if I did not think there was a need for someone to try and revive that old spirit of pride and respect in the country, its outlook and its purpose. I do not know if I am the man, but to use a clerical expression, when the call was pressed upon me and it was pointed out to me that I might be of some service, I thought that if I was to remain in public life and if I was imbued with patriotism, it was my duty to go. I am going to England to try to do something to revive that invaluable stimulus that for centuries has been the basis of British progress. If in the smallest way I can contri-

bute something that will turn the thought and effort of our fellow citizens in the British Isles into closer connection with the great Dominions outside those Isles, if I can do something to create a new attitude there, I would feel that whatever sacrifice I make as far as my personal liking and comforts are concerned, will be amply repaid. That is my whole mission." (Loud applause).

After a few general remarks, the speaker continued, "Never in the memory of man has there been such a critical situation in the British Isles, and never have the people been so stirred by conditions. The intense interest of the people is the best evidence that at a reasonably early date they will rise in their might and put a stop to this downward trend towards destruction. There will be a change in the spirit and attitude of the British people. There is the keenest interest to-day in the overseas Dominions. And I venture to say that the average person, the thinking person in the British Isles, is now looking to Canada. I do not know how good a missionary I can be, but I do intend, gentlemen, to put the best that is in me into my efforts to do something that will be of a little value to Canada, and of some value to that great organization in which I believe more than I believe in anything else in the world—the British Empire." (Loud applause).

Again at Brampton on the night of December 5th, Mr. Ferguson said:

"I have tried conscientiously all the years I have been in the public life of Ontario to give the best that was in me, and on this new mission my wife and I will devote just as conscientiously whatever strength and ability we have to that task.

"If I understand the duty I undertake, it is not only to increase the interchange of trade between Canada and the Old Country, and between Canada and other sections of the British Empire. I conceive my duty to be more than that; to endeavour to interpret the spirit of Canada to the British people, to let them know that we in this country are a growing strong arm of the British Empire, standing for the solidarity and the perpetuation of that Empire." (Loud cheers).

"Whatever other nations may consider themselves, we as Britishers, believe that no other organization in the world has done so much for civilization, freedom and liberty, as the British Empire. That is why we cling to the Empire and that is why I hope to be able in a small humble way, to interpret my fellow-Canadians to the British people, in a way that will give them some encouragement and perhaps bring about some closer co-operation and adhesion among the people of this great Empire of ours."

The leading newspapers of the country have commented upon Mr. Ferguson's Imperial mission and upon the striking speches which he has made in regard to it. Under the heading, "Mr. Ferguson and Empire Unity", the *Montreal Gazette* said, editorially, on December 7th:—

"Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, in his address before the Conservatives of Ontario, and in a later one to the members of the Technical Service Council, has outlined his reasons for accepting the post of Canadian High Commissioner in London, and the aims which he hopes to achieve in his new capacity. They are high aims, and in their accomplishment Mr. Ferguson will have rendered a very great service, not only to his own Dominion, but to every part of the Empire as well, and to the Mother Country especially. There can be no doubt that conditions now prevailing in Great Britain, social as well as economic conditions, demand a new outlook, a readjustment of ideas, the abandonment of certain old prejudices which have too long masqueraded as principles, and a new and broader conception of Empire and Imperial responsibilities. Mr. Ferguson understands this, and he goes to London with the enthusiasm of a missionary as well as with the ability of a statesman, and there can be no doubt but that, as spokesman for the Dominion of

Canada in London, with the confidence and support of the Canadian Government and of the Canadian people as well, he will be in a position to do much in promoting the cause of Imperial unity. 'If', he says, 'I can revive the invaluable stimulus that for centuries has been the basis of British progress and achievement; if I can contribute somewhat to direct the thought and endeavours of the British Isles toward co-operation with those portions of the Empire outside the Isles; if I can help to create a new attitude toward Empire problems, I feel that I have been amply rewarded for some of the things I leave behind me in Canada and for the efforts I intend to make to accomplish my aims.'

"Mr. Ferguson will embark upon his mission under favourable auspices. The Imperial Conference seems likely to produce a posthumous success out of the very fact of its failure. The circumstances of that failure have had a profound effect upon British public opinions as reflected in the British press, and there is evidence of a determination on the part of the British people to not only repair the damage wrought by the uncompromising attitude of the Government, but to proceed aggressively and with conviction along the path indicated by the Dominions at the Conference. Mr. Ferguson comments upon this reaction, declaring that

the keenest and most intelligent interest is being taken in the Dominions and their affairs, and he hopes that his own efforts will contribute towards closer co-operation within the Empire, 'that organization in which I believe more than in any other political association in the world to-day.' Mr. Ferguson's appointment means, to some extent, a new departure in the High Commissioner's service, and his work should be more beneficial to the Dominion and to the Empire than any performed under normal conditions by any of his predecessors in this generation. A striking personality, a fluent and effective speaker, courageous and aggressive and yet tactful and considerate, Mr. Ferguson will fill the role of High Commissioner in a new way, and as an apostle of Imperial unity he will put his natural talents to their fullest and most effective use. Indeed his appointment bids fair to rank as one of the most noteworthy events in Anglo-Canadian history in many years."

On Monday, December 8th, the Toronto *Mail and Empire* said editorially:

"The retiring Prime Minister's whole career has been marked by political shrewdness. He never speaks out in meeting without a sound and well considered purpose in mind. He has ever been courageous and even daring. He has generally known where he

was going and he has generally arrived. One contemporary pretends to think that Mr. Ferguson will not make much impression in Great Britain and that the newspapers over there will not report him. As to the latter fear, we have a complete answer right to hand. On November 11th, 1930, he wrote *The London Times* a long letter on Imperial relationships. Next day the greatest English newspaper featured the communication under a three line head—a prominence which that journal never concedes to any events save those of prime importance. As a matter of fact, the British people have always welcomed, heard and exalted able Canadians. The New Brunswicker, Max Aitken, disputes with the Harmsworth's for first place as an English newspaper publisher. E. R. Peacock, who went to London from Toronto is one of the small inner cabinet of financiers who run the Bank of England.

"Every well-informed Canadian must agree that Mr. Ferguson's avowed aims in accepting the high commissionership are worthy aims, and that in their accomplishment he will render 'a very real service, not only to this Dominion, but to every part of the Empire, and especially to the Mother Country.' It can surely be suggested without offence to the British people—the finest race on earth—that heavy war burdens and

world responsibilities may have temporarily clouded or somewhat obscured their Imperial vision. It may be that a persuasive voice from one of the daughter nations will have an electrical effect in stimulating Empire sentiment and in bringing back the spacious days of Elizabeth. If any man can fulfill that assignment, that man is the retiring Premier of Ontario. A consummate politician, a wise statesman, a striking personality, a persuasive speaker, a gladiator of courage and aggressive spirit, he should do a great work in the United Kingdom. We believe that he will."

On December 6th, Toronto *Saturday Night*, most influential of Canadian weeklies, devoted its first front page editorial to an appreciation of Mr. Ferguson's spirited patriotism and undertaking—the British mission, as follows:—

"The speed with which the Federal cabinet acted in appointing Hon. George Howard Ferguson Canada's High Commissioner to Great Britain, after he had obtained the consent of his followers in the Ontario Legislature to his retirement from the Premiership, illustrates the keenness of the Bennett cabinet's desire to send him to London at the present juncture. Evidently Mr. Bennett's experiences during his stay in Great Britain have convinced him of the necessity of establishing at Canada House a representa-

tive of compelling magnetism, in addition to proven ability. Mr. Ferguson has two assets which are more profoundly esteemed in British public life than in this country—candor and good humour. Moreover, the sincerity of his Imperial enthusiasm and his shrewd common sense in dealing with major issues, have never been open to doubt.

"A painful growth of anti-Canadian sentiment has been in progress in Britain for at least twelve months. It had its origin in the mistake made by the Wheat Pool in holding out for the $2 bushel, and though the members of the Pool have been the chief sufferers from that error in judgment, the incident itself is not forgotten, and the lower order of British politicians have not hesitated to fan the prejudices engendered. No other man is better qualified to serve as a good-will ambassador than Mr. Ferguson; none would more heartily enter into all measures for the cementing of Imperial economic unity."

The times are critical. The British Empire is at the parting of the ways. A majority of the British people have apparently been awakened to the enormous material potentialities awaiting development in the Dominions and other portions of the King's world-wide domain. A man of Mr. Ferguson's prestige and political genius can assist in stimulating this new movement towards such co-ordination of the Empire's

capital, resources, and man power as will make for the permanence of British prestige and strength and moral influence.

He is fired by a warm ambition to crown his career with a last great service to Ontario, Canada and United Empire. His engaging personality, his consummate tact, his power of initiative, his extraordinary executive ability, his genius for inspiring others and for getting things done will be felt at the heart of the Empire. So here's a prophesy: His reign at Canada House will lift the High Commissionership to new levels of achievement. Canada expects just that—Canada will get just that.

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